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EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

An International Study of Placing Activities

GENEVA

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INTRODUCTION

IN presenting this report it is hoped that it will prove to be not only of immediate interest, bearing as it does on the great problem of unemployment, but that the subject with which it deals will make it of permanent value.

The organisation of placing work is indeed one of the essential elements in the campaign to alleviate unemployment. Not that an employment exchange can itself create openings for work that do not exist ; its chief aim consists in putting those seeking work in touch with those seeking labour with the least possible delay. Nevertheless, there are certain key posts which when vacant prevent the carrying out of work, but which when filled lead to the engagement of more workers, and a well-organised placing service can effectively open up possibilities of new work by aiding in the filling of such posts.

A well-organised placing service also plays in dealing with unemployment a part which is of paramount, though indirect, importance. Firstly, it is a *sine qua non* of the efficient working of insurance and assistance schemes which every country desirous of ensuring public order and social justice is now obliged to establish. If it is desired to pursue an active policy of public works in order to mitigate the effects of the depression in private undertakings a good placing organisation is necessary. The same applies when there is a permanent surplus of workers in some particular industry necessitating their transfer to other industries.

But placing work should not be considered only as a measure, either direct or indirect, against unemployment, important as it is in this respect. To organise placing work is to organise the labour market, and a good organisation of the labour market is one of the corner-stones of a general economic organisation. When considered in this light, placing work cannot be classed merely as a palliative for the relief of unemployment. It forms part of the various institutions the development of which is necessary to bring more order and stability into the economic system.

At one time placing work was in the hands of private agencies which carried on the work for profit. This practice of finding employment as a commercial enterprise was expressly denounced by the International Labour Conference as far back as 1919, and

in 1933 the Conference adopted a Draft Convention providing for the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit. Agencies of this kind are gradually disappearing altogether. Placing work was next undertaken by both employers' and workers' associations, each of which sought by this means to defend its own interests. But little by little the divergent aims of placing by employers and trade unions converged and a joint system was adopted. This in its turn gave way to a public employment service. It is with this latter form that the present study deals.

The word "placing" gives a somewhat one-sided impression of the work carried on by public employment offices, as it suggests work done for the benefit of the workers only, whereas in fact a placing service also acts as a recruiting agency by means of which the employers more easily find the workers they require. In certain countries the development of public employment offices has been due rather to a shortage of labour than to unemployment. It is to be understood, therefore, that in this study the word "placing" includes recruitment.

Public employment offices have two aims which at first sight appear to be in contradiction. They must endeavour both to increase the mobility of labour and at the same time to stabilise the labour market. This apparent contradiction is due to there being two kinds of mobility: the mobility of labour necessary to meet the needs of economic progress, which in turn must always be directed towards raising the standard of living of the consumers, and the mobility of labour which is harmful in character. The latter is due either to bad economic organisation, or to the faulty organisation of certain industries or undertakings. While public employment offices must encourage the former, they must at the same time seek to check harmful movements of labour.

REDUCING THE INSTABILITY OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Employment offices can do little or nothing to remedy the difficulties of the labour market due to general economic disequilibrium. They can only call attention to the volume of unemployed labour and point out the necessity of economic measures to utilise it productively. The information concerning the situation of the labour market furnished by employment offices should be one of the principal factors determining the date of the application of the various kinds of public works concerning which the authorities are in a position to pursue a policy of advance planning, having

regard to the urgency of the work and to the desirability of regular employment.

It is the public employment offices which reveal the instability of employment peculiar to certain industries. The principal industries in which a large number of workers are engaged and discharged intermittently are the seasonal industries. Experience has shown that seasonal fluctuations are far from being irremediable, and it is the duty of public employment offices to recommend and support the application of measures likely to counteract them.¹

Public employment offices can most usefully intervene when the instability of labour is due, not to faulty economic or industrial organisation, but to defects in particular undertakings resulting in a rapid labour turnover, that is to say that in order to maintain a certain average number of workers a far larger number are engaged at frequent intervals, many of these workers being dismissed after a short period of employment. This practice of constant engagement and dismissal is due to various causes, not the least important being that the workers engaged are badly selected for the work they have to perform. It is immaterial whether it is the fault of the employer or of the worker, and as a rule it is neither the one nor the other, but a lack of adaptation on both sides, proving that the work of recruitment or of placing has been badly carried out. It is the duty of a well-organised employment service to obviate this, and in every case to facilitate the engagement of those workers who have the necessary qualifications for the posts which are vacant.

This instability is the cause of considerable loss. After studying the situation in the industries of Great Britain and the United States, an English writer remarks that the loss as a result of labour turnover may amount to 4 per cent. of the pay-roll approximately equally divided between employers and workers.² The cost of turnover to the worker is chiefly the loss of wages during the period before he finds another job ; and the cost to the employer includes the expenses of engaging and training new workers, waste of material, and repair of machines due to lack of skill, etc.

The United States Bureau of Labour Statistics has, since July 1929, been compiling and publishing monthly reports on labour turnover in representative establishments. The number of quits,

¹ Cf. pp. 148 et seq., where an account is given of measures taken by employment offices to facilitate the dovetailing of seasonal occupations.

² P. S. FLORENCE : *Economics of Fatigue and Unrest and the Efficiency of Labour in English and American Industry*, p. 160. London, 1924.

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lay-offs, discharges, and accessions actually occurring during the month are stated, and the totals of each of these items are divided by the total average number on the company pay-rolls during the month. This gives what is called the monthly quit, lay-off, discharge and accession rates. The table below shows these rates in 1930 and 1931 and also the net turnover rate, which is the rate of replacement or the number of jobs that are vacated and filled per 100 employees.¹

ANNUAL AVERAGE LABOUR TURNOVER RATES IN SELECTED
 FACTORIES IN SEVENTY-FIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED
 STATES *

Year	Separation rates				Accession rate	Net turnover rate
	Quit	Lay-off	Discharge	Total		
1930	18·7	36·0	5·1	59·7	37·1	37·1
1931	11·4	34·3	2·7	48·4	36·6	35·7

* *Monthly Labour Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Feb. 1932, p. 346. The equivalent annual rates are obtained by multiplying the monthly rates by the number of times the days of the current month are contained in the 365 days of the year; thus the rate is multiplied by 11·17, 12·17, or 13·04, according as the current month contains thirty-one days, thirty days, or twenty-eight days.

INCREASING THE MOBILITY OF LABOUR

Industrial changes are, of course, not limited to modern history, but the process of industrial development before the advent of machinery was gradual. To-day, every industry is subjected to a process of constant changes which cannot take place without causing much hardship among the workers who happen to be in positions which are directly affected by such changes. There is not only an increase or decrease in the size of industries, but many old industries tend to disappear altogether, while entirely new types of industry are being created. Within a comparatively short period such new industries as the manufacture of motor cars, wireless apparatus, gramophones, artificial silk, etc., have arisen. The occupation of a large number of modern workers is determined neither by custom nor by their own choice. Thus, in Great Britain, for instance, in certain

¹ U.S. BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS: *Handbook of Labour Statistics*, 1931 edition, p. 663. Washington, 1931.

industries such as coal mining, cotton, and some of the heavy industries, such as tin plate, there has been a tradition for generations for son or daughter to follow in the occupation of the parent. Now there is, on the contrary, a positive disinclination on the part of boys and girls to go into those industries, owing to the fact that they have all been depressed since the war. It is interesting, in this connection, to learn from the results of a social study carried out recently in a certain industrial area in England that only eighteen sons out of 100 went into their fathers' trades in the different industries investigated.¹

Very often technological changes necessitate a change of trade on the part of adult workers. According to an enquiry carried out in the United States in the early part of 1929,² out of 754 discharged workers (owing to technological changes), 410 had found jobs at the time of the enquiry, and of those who found employment 134, or one-third, were re-employed in industries which produced goods similar to those which were produced at the factories in which they were formerly employed, and 273, or two-thirds, found employment in industries which were not related to those which formerly employed them, while less than 10 per cent. of the workers who found employment had succeeded in securing employment at their old jobs. It is impossible to generalise from such a small example, but the facts brought out in this case show that, even under favourable economic conditions, a very small proportion of the workers who lose their jobs are fortunate enough to secure employment in the same occupations in which they were previously engaged.

Owing to the scarcity of information, it is very difficult to ascertain the frequency of occupational changes. There are, however, various kinds of statistics which throw light on the general trend of such changes.

During the last decade, a number of *British* staple industries have shown a tendency to contract, while a number of other industries have increased the number of workers employed. An idea as to the extent of the increase or decrease in the number of persons attached to certain British industries during the period from 1923 to 1932 can be obtained from the following table, which has been prepared from statistics relating to unemployment insurance.

¹ C. T. SAUNDERS: "Study of Occupational Mobility," in *Economic Journal*, London, June 1931.

² ISADOR LUBIN: *The Absorption of the Unemployed by American Industry*. The Pamphlet Series, Vol. I, No. 3. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1929.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INSURED WORKERS IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ¹

Industry	1923 ²	1932 ³	Increase (+) or decrease (—), 1923–1932	Index numbers, 1932 (1923=100) ⁴
<i>A. Expanded industries :</i>				
Distributive trades	1,253,980	1,950,240	+ 696,260	158·5
Building	716,020	856,910	+ 140,890	125·8
Road transport	148,900	209,160	+ 60,260	144·1
Motor vehicle, cycle and air- craft	191,830	252,080	+ 60,250	133·0
Printing	227,920	284,770	+ 56,850	128·0
Furniture	94,090	133,870	+ 39,780	148·1
Shipping	127,240	161,330	+ 34,090	128·6
Silk and artificial silk	37,300	70,320	+ 33,020	193·8
Brick, tile, etc., making	61,200	87,650	+ 26,450	151·2
Electrical engineering	60,960	94,080	+ 23,120	157·4
<i>B. Contracted industries :</i>				
Coal	1,243,580	1,044,920	— 198,660	86·6
General engineering	666,950	551,200	— 115,750	85·9
Shipbuilding	269,970	181,930	— 88,040	69·8
Cotton	567,650	517,950	— 49,700	92·6
Iron and steel	210,960	167,760	— 43,200	82·3
Woollen and worsted	269,420	233,610	— 35,810	90·1
Docks and inland waterways	190,870	169,070	— 31,800	93·9
Marine engineering	65,540	50,530	— 15,010	78·8
Dress and millinery	117,160	102,970	— 14,190	88·5
Carriage, carts, etc.	28,100	18,220	— 9,880	66·7

¹ Based on the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, London, Nov. 1932, pp. 430–431.

² Aged sixteen and over.

³ Aged sixteen to sixty-four.

⁴ The index numbers make allowance for the change in the age limits for insurance from 1923 to 1932.

In the above table, the figures for insured persons for 1923 relate to persons aged sixteen and over, while for 1932 they relate only to workers aged between sixteen and sixty-four. Thus, these two sets of figures are not estimated strictly on the same basis, but a comparison between them will serve the purpose of this study. The table clearly indicates the fact that British staple industries have undergone considerable changes in size during the post-war period, and that the contraction of many old industries has been partly compensated by the growth of new ones. The movement of labour into a rising industry is not very difficult unless the expansion is abrupt. But when industry shrinks the problem becomes more serious. A certain proportion of the workers in any contracting industry are bound to be unemployed or to change their occupation. A marked diminution in the number of insured workers in the British coal-mining industry in 1932, as compared with 1923, is largely due to the transference of

workers from that industry to expanding trades, owing to the efforts of the Government or the initiative of the workers.

The results of two *French* censuses in 1906 and 1926 show that the total number of workers engaged in all industries in the pre-war territory of France was almost stationary in the period covered, but considerable shiftings of working population occurred among different industrial groups. It will be seen in the following table that a diminution in the number of workers occurred in five industrial groups, and was entirely compensated for by an increase in five other groups of industry. There was a marked decline in agriculture, which compares with increases in manufacturing industry, commerce and transportation.

WORKING POPULATION IN FRANCE BEFORE AND
AFTER THE WAR ¹

Industry	1906 (in thousands)	1926 (in thousands)	Increase (+) or decrease (-)	
			In thousands	Per cent.
Agriculture and forestry ...	8,779	7,913	- 867	- 9.9
Fishing	78	70	- 8	- 10.3
Manufacturing industry ...	6,333	6,817	+ 484	+ 7.6
Loading and unloading workers	395	244	- 151	- 38.2
Transportation	493	744	+ 250	+ 50.7
Commerce, banking	1,991	2,369	+ 378	+ 19.0
Personal attendance	65	64	- 2	- 2.4
Liberal professions	497	563	+ 66	+ 13.3
Civil service	548	671	+ 123	+ 22.5
Domestic workers	946	756	- 190	- 20.1
	20,127	20,211	+ 84	+ 0.4

¹ MARCEL DE VILLE-CHABROLLE: "La Population active en France, avant et depuis la guerre," in *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France*, Tome XXI, Fascicule I, Oct.-Dec. 1931

In *Germany*, intense rationalisation of the industrial system took place during the period from 1926 to 1928, but as there is no statistical information regarding the occupational distribution of the population after 1925, it is difficult to know how the recent rationalisation movement in that country has affected the number of workers in various occupations.

According to the German Federal Census taken in 1925, the total number of persons employed in various industries and trades was 32 millions as compared with 25.1 millions in 1905, showing an increase of about 6.9 millions, or 27.2 per cent., during the period. Of this total increase in the working population, industry absorbed more than 3 millions, trade and transportation 2 millions, agriculture 1.2 million, the rest being covered by other industries.

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INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN
GERMANY, 1907 AND 1925¹

Industry	1907		1925		Increase	
	Number of workers	Per cent. of total	Number of workers	Per cent. of total	Number of workers	Per cent.
Agriculture and forestry ...	8,556,219	34.0	9,762,426	30.5	1,206,207	14.1
Industry and handicrafts ...	9,830,540	39.1	13,239,223	41.4	3,408,683	34.7
Trade and transportation ...	3,496,055	13.9	5,273,502	16.5	1,777,447	50.8
Civil service, liberal professions ...	1,327,627	5.3	1,502,379	4.7	174,752	13.2
Health work, etc. ...	323,724	1.3	588,788	1.8	265,064	81.9
Domestic servants, etc. ...	1,621,852	6.4	1,642,982	5.1	21,130	1.3
	25,156,017	100	32,009,300	100	6,853,283	27.2

¹ STATISTISCHES REICHSAMT: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Band 402, I and II. Berlin, 1927.

In the *United States*, the rapid changes in methods of production in recent years have brought about a considerable dislocation in the distribution of labour among industries. One of the most impressive cases is agriculture. Owing to the extensive use of machinery and other improved methods of cultivation, there was a striking increase in the output per worker in American agriculture, and consequently a large number of labourers have been obliged to leave the land.

SHIFT IN OCCUPATION IN THE UNITED STATES,
1880-1920¹

Industries	Number (thousands)			Per cent.		
	1880	1900	1920	1880	1890	1920
Total ...	17,392	29,073	41,854	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, lumbering and fishing ...	8,596	10,889	11,393	49.4	37.5	27.2
Manufacturing, mechanical pursuits and mining ...	4,449	7,451	13,809	25.6	29.1	33.0
Trade, transportation and clerical work ...	2,122	5,444	10,383	12.2	18.7	24.8
Professional service ...	603	1,213	2,112	3.5	4.2	5.0
Domestic and personal service ...	1,622	3,076	4,157	9.3	10.6	9.9

¹ U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1931*. Washington, 1931.

In the forty years between 1880 and 1920, the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture, together with the small number engaged in forestry and fishing, fell from approximately 50 per

cent. to 27 per cent. There was a very slight increase from 1900 to 1920, and in recent years there has been an absolute decline. The 1930 Census returns, which have recently been made available, are unfortunately not directly comparable with the previous Census returns on account of changes in the grouping of occupations in 1930. Bearing this fact in mind it is, however, to be noted that, according to the 1930 Census result, the total number of gainfully employed workers on the farms, including those employed in lumbering and fishing, is 10,752,000, indicating a diminution of 641,000 as compared with the 1920 figures.¹ In all other groups of occupations of relative importance, with the exception of domestic and personal service, there was an increase during the period from 1880 to 1920. The considerable increase in the number of workers in manufacturing industries in the above period of forty years is natural, but the proportion began to fall somewhat after 1920. The marked increase in the working population engaged in commerce and transportation was the result of increasing production and of a rise in the standard of living, and has a parallel in the statistics of other countries.

In the recent industrial history of the United States, there are many examples of the spectacular development or decline of individual industries. One of the most striking examples of this may be found in industries which are engaged in producing transport equipment. In 1914, the labour force engaged in making automobiles and parts was 126,992 in 1,071 establishments, but it increased to 447,403 men in 1,399 establishments in 1929. The total number of workers making aircraft and parts was only 135 in 16 establishments in 1914, while it increased to 14,706 workers in 132 establishments in 1929. On the other hand, while 41,627 workers were engaged in making carriages and wagons in 4,622 establishments in 1914, this number was reduced to 2,873 workers in 88 establishments in 1929.

One of the many far-reaching changes in industrial structure concerns the geographical situation of industries. In the early stages of modern industrial development, it was mainly the question of access to natural power or coal that was considered as the most important factor in determining sites. Steam is being replaced by electricity, old industrial districts can no longer compete with those places which have been less industrialised but have

¹ There has, however, been a big movement back to the land during the present depression, and this is believed to have cancelled the decrease in the agricultural population since 1920.

distinct economic advantages, such as proximity to supplies of raw materials and to the consumers' market. As a consequence of advances in the technique of production, many industries to-day require relatively fewer skilled workers than they did formerly. This accounts for the fact that industrial migration is taking place towards regions where cheap labour is likely to be found. The relief from high rates and taxes or the benefit of cheap transportation or, it may be, a belief that the trade unions are not so strong, are other important factors which are determining the new localisation of industry.

In *Great Britain*, a considerable redistribution of industrial activity has been taking place since the world war. While the number of insured persons has been increasing in industries situated in the southern part of the country, there has been a decline in coal mining, the iron and steel industry, shipbuilding and the textile trade, which are largely centred in the northern part of the country. During the period from 1923 to 1932, there was an increase of 14·4 per cent. in the number of insured workers in Great Britain and Northern Ireland as a whole, while the increase in the southern part of Great Britain was 18·3 per cent., in comparison with 5 per cent. in the north. In 1932, 48·5 per cent. of the insured population was to be found in the south, as against 45·7 per cent. in 1923. The region of London and South-Eastern England, covering approximately the area lying to the east of a line drawn from the Wash to Portsmouth, included 26·6 per cent. of the insured population in 1932, in comparison with 24·2 in 1923. Changes in the total number of insured workers in defined areas during the period from 1923 to 1932 may be seen from the following table.

CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INSURED WORKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ¹

	Insured workers (in thousands)			Index numbers (1923 = 100) ²	
	1923	1927	1932	1927	1932
London	2,004	2,150	2,366	107·3	121·4
South-Eastern ...	756	876	996	115·8	135·9
South-Western ...	767	833	908	108·6	122·1
Midlands	1,682	1,783	1,892	106·0	115·7
North-Eastern ...	1,964	2,025	2,085	103·1	109·5
North-Western ...	2,071	2,148	2,194	103·7	109·0
Scotland	1,288	1,306	1,340	101·4	107·2
Wales	618	629	619	101·8	103·6
Northern Ireland	253	254	265	100·5	106·9

¹ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Nov. 1932, p. 409.

² The index numbers make allowance for the change in the age limits for insurance from 1923 to 1932.

Thus, in Great Britain, a big change in the geographical distribution of the industrial population has been taking place in recent years. Migration from the declining areas in the north to expanding areas in the south has occurred in spite of many difficulties, such as housing problems, and various obstacles to mobility. This movement has taken place partly owing to individual initiative, but also, as will be shown, because the Government has taken active measures to promote the movement of workers.

In the *United States*, the problem of the industrialisation of the southern States has attracted serious attention. The cotton industry, for example, has declined greatly in New England and has shown a marked development in the south.

LOCATION OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1910-1930 ¹

Year	Active cotton spindles (thousands)		Domestic cotton consumption (thousands of bales)	
	New England	South	New England	South
1910	15,735	10,494	1,995	2,234
1920	18,287	15,231	2,397	3,583
1930	11,351	18,586	1,143	4,374

¹ U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, *op. cit.*, p. 886.

The development of the cotton industry in the south is said to have taken place in three ways, namely, the outright removal of plants, the building of branch plants in the south and the relative growth of southern enterprises.¹ It is difficult, however, to know to what extent this change has necessitated the migration of workers from the north to the south.

Apart from the southern movement which has taken place in the cotton industry, there have been many industrial migrations on a small scale. For example, the printing industry has moved from the State of New York; new shoe factories have been established in St. Louis and Milwaukee; milling firms of Minneapolis have moved eastward or westward, setting up new mills in Buffalo, New York, Kansas and Utah.²

The result of this frequent movement of industrial sites on the employment conditions of workers must be important. "It has,"

¹ B. MITCHELL: "Growth of Manufactures in the South," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 153, June 1931.

² As to the geographical shifting in American industry from 1904 to 1925, see U.S. BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS: *Handbook of Labour Statistics*, 1929 edition, pp. 122-124. Washington, 1929.

says an official of the State administration in Pennsylvania, "always been important for the departments of public employment offices to help the unemployed to find jobs at a minimum of expense to the jobless. . . . It is also more important to-day, because during past years there has been much closing down and moving along of factories. The routine of finding jobs has completely changed with these movements of industry. In the steel industry, workers may have to travel in vain through several counties unless they are informed in advance what opportunities are available and where these opportunities are to be found."¹

In other countries, technical and scientific progress have also brought about changes in the location of industries. Above all, the utilisation of hydro-electric power in preference to steam is a strong factor in causing industry to move in European countries. For instance, during the post-war years, hydro-electric power has been considerably developed in France. It is in the Vosges, Jura, Alps and the south that water-power sites are concentrated, 90 per cent. of the total water-power energy being exploited in these regions. The remarkable development of hydro-electric power in the Italian Alps is also leading to a great expansion of industrial activity in Northern Italy. Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Bavaria and France are gradually forming a large new industrial zone supplied with hydro-electric power from the Alpine rivers and lakes. It remains to be seen to what extent this Alpine power zone will compete with the old industrial centres in the Ruhr, Northern France and elsewhere. The ultimate changes effected in the distribution of the working population in Europe itself can only be imagined.

In order to promote the mobility of labour in conformity with the territorial movements of industry, various measures are being taken by the Governments of many countries. But it may be pointed out that Governments often go much farther than this, and deliberately organise a redistribution of the industrial population. One of the most striking examples of such a case is the scheme of public works and colonisation in Italy. Since 1922 a large amount of money has been allocated by the Italian Government every year for the industrial development of Southern Italy, thus creating a new demand for labour in these regions. A great number of workers migrated from the densely populated districts of Northern Italy to the south.

¹ A. N. NORTHRUP: "Workers Need More Protection, Not Less," in *Monthly Bulletin*, Department of Labour and Industry, Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Vol. 19, No. 9, Oct 1932.

In order to combat unemployment due to the present crisis, many Governments have undertaken public works sometimes involving a movement of workers from one locality to another. In Germany, Canada and Brazil, in particular, systematic schemes have been worked out to move unemployed city workers and settle them permanently in the rural districts. In the U.S.S.R. large movements of the population are carried out on a collective basis, being organised and financed by the State in order to provide the population required for the development of industries and the colonisation of such remote areas as Siberia and the Murmansk coast.

The changes in the general structure of industry which have just been sketched are not exceptional phenomena. They are to be observed everywhere and at all times. Whether they be changes in the relative production of various industrial activities or in the geographical situation of these industries, they are the expression of the general dynamic character of economic progress. It is only too evident that this dynamic energy must be regulated if economic equilibrium is to be maintained and the crises from which the world suffers are to be avoided or even attenuated. In particular the purely economic factors must be harmonised with the human factors. In other words, the supply of and the demand for labour must be continually adjusted to each other. This is the primary task of a public placing service. The object of the present study is to review what has so far been done in this direction.

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL ORGANISATION OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

At its First Session, held in Washington in 1919, the International Labour Conference recognised the importance of public employment agencies as one of the means "of preventing or providing against unemployment," and adopted Article 2 of the Convention concerning unemployment, which is as follows :

" Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall establish a system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority. Committees, which shall include representatives of employers and of workers, shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies.

" Where both public and private free employment agencies exist, steps shall be taken to co-ordinate the operations of such agencies on a national scale.

" The operations of the various national systems shall be co-ordinated by the International Labour Office in agreement with the countries concerned."

This Convention came into force on 14 July 1921, and has now been ratified by twenty-eight countries, twenty-two in Europe and six outside Europe. The European countries which have ratified the Convention are the following: Austria (12 June 1924), Belgium (25 August 1930), Bulgaria (14 February 1922), Denmark (13 October 1921), Estonia (20 December 1922), Finland (19 October 1921), France (25 August 1925), Germany (6 June 1925), Great Britain (14 July 1921), Greece (19 November 1920), Hungary (1 March 1928), Irish Free State (4 September 1925), Italy (10 April 1923), Luxemburg (16 April 1928), Netherlands (6 February 1932), Norway (23 November 1921), Poland (21 June 1924), Rumania (13 June 1921), Spain (4 July 1923), Sweden (27 September 1921), Switzerland (9 October 1922), and Yugoslavia (1 April 1927).

Among the European Members of the International Labour Organisation, therefore, only Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania and Portugal have not yet ratified the Unemployment Convention. It should be noted, however, that some of these countries, such as Czechoslovakia, have extensive public employ-

ment services. An important organisation for this purpose also exists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Outside Europe the Convention has been ratified by Chile (31 May 1933), Colombia (20 June 1933), India (14 July 1921), Japan (23 November 1922), South Africa (20 February 1924), and Uruguay (6 June 1933).

Notwithstanding its ratification, India, apart from its famine relief organisation, has no public employment exchanges in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, more or less highly developed services of this kind have been organised in certain countries which, like Australia, Canada and New Zealand, have not ratified the Convention, or which, like the United States, are not Members of the International Labour Organisation.

The following pages give a brief description of the organisation of employment exchanges in different countries.

§ 1.—Organisation of Public Employment Exchanges

In *Australia* employment exchanges exist in the various States, but they have not been co-ordinated on a Federal basis. The system set up in Queensland is of special importance, because it is linked up with the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, no unemployment benefit being allowed unless the unemployed person is registered at the State Labour Exchange.

Austria possesses a highly organised network of public or joint employment exchanges, with a system of clearing-houses. The development of this organisation is largely the result of the introduction of unemployment insurance, for the public or joint employment exchanges act as unemployment offices (cf. section 20 of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 24 March 1920, the Xth and XIXth Administrative Orders under that Act, and the Ministerial Orders of 25 May 1920 and 12 July 1921).

In *Belgium* the free official employment exchanges are governed by the provisions of the Royal Order of 19 February 1924 and a number of other Royal Orders promulgated since 1920. They are directly subordinate to the Ministry of Industry and Labour, which supervises their work. A temporary Unemployment Commissioner appointed early in 1933 has, among other duties, to prepare a plan of general reorganisation for the whole system.

The *Bulgarian* Act of 12 April 1925 concerning employment exchanges and unemployment insurance made provision for the institution of free employment exchanges in Sofia and Philippopolis, and empowered the Minister of Commerce, Industry and

Labour, after consulting the Supreme Labour Council, to order the institution of employment exchanges in other localities in which the number of workers permanently exceed 3,000. In 1930 employment exchanges were in existence in thirty-one districts. In areas where there are no exchanges the work of placing is carried out by the municipal authorities. The placing service is controlled or supervised in each department by the factory inspector and for the whole country by a special office of the Labour Department in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour.

Although a certain number of public employment offices had been set up in several of the *Canadian* provinces before 1918, it was only in that year that a Dominion Act was passed, known as the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act. In order to ensure the necessary collaboration between the employment offices in the different provinces, provision was made in the Act for an annual grant to be divided among the provinces in accordance with certain stipulated conditions. The various offices together constitute the Employment Service of Canada, which is therefore a co-operative undertaking of the Dominion and provincial Governments. The Department of Labour ensures collaboration among the various provincial services. A large number of branch offices have been set up in the larger urban centres.

In *Czechoslovakia* there is so far no uniform legislation on public placing services. Each of the five provinces has kept its special legislation, which dates back to 1903 in the case of Bohemia, 1909 in Moravia, 1916 in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia and 1919 in Silesia. A Bill is in course of preparation, however, for unifying the system of placing for the whole country. In August 1931 there were in Czechoslovakia 301 public employment exchanges, but certain districts were much less well served than others. The most highly developed system is in Bohemia, where each locality has its local employment exchange. These exchanges, to the number of 247, are under the supervision of the County Offices, which act as clearing-houses for the local exchanges and are in turn supervised by five District Offices. The central authority is the Provincial Central Labour Office in Prague. This system has served as a model for the other provinces.

In *Denmark*, the Act of 1 July 1927, as amended by the Act of 9 November 1928, completely reorganised the system of employment exchanges, and set up an office in Copenhagen and one in each county, making a total of twenty-three. Each of these offices is in charge of a director, who works in close collaboration with the Council for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment

Insurance. In addition, communal employment exchanges established in places in which the population exceeds 10,000 persons and in communes where a large number of placing operations are carried out can obtain State recognition on application being made by the communal council in question.

Under the Employment Exchanges Act of 1 August 1917, a system of free employment exchanges was set up in *Estonia* in 1919. There are fourteen exchanges, the work of which is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

In *Finland*, according to the Employment Exchanges Act of 27 March 1926, communes and associations are entitled to carry on employment exchange work. In every town where the population is more than 5,000 persons a public employment exchange must be set up. If it is considered necessary, smaller towns, market towns and rural communes are also bound to establish employment exchanges or appoint employment agents.

In *France*, the Act of 2 February 1925 to amend section 85 of Book I of the Labour Code concerning employment exchanges and Departmental employment offices confirmed the system by which it is compulsory for towns with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants to keep a register of vacancies and applications for employment and for towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants to set up a municipal employment exchange. The Departments were also made responsible for setting up Departmental employment offices. The work of these offices is to organise and ensure recruiting and placing free of charge in the communes without their area. The expenditure required for the creation and working of the municipal and Departmental exchanges must be met by the towns and Departments concerned. There are in France 7 divisional offices (each covering several Departments and co-ordinating the work of the Departmental and municipal offices), 90 Departmental offices (one in each Department) and 230 municipal exchanges. In addition, thirty-seven of the Departmental offices have appointed local correspondents, particularly in agricultural centres.

In *Germany*, public placing was entrusted by the Act of 16 July 1927 to the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance under the supervision of the Federal Minister of Labour. The system includes a central office, 13 district offices and 361 local offices. Every commune must be covered by an employment exchange. There is a clearing system for applications for employment or for workers which cannot be met locally.

In *Great Britain*, free employment exchanges were set up and organised under the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909. The whole

country is covered with a network of exchanges and branch employment offices, numbering about 1,200, under the control of the Employment and Training Department of the Ministry of Labour. In addition, the placing of juveniles is in some areas carried out by Juvenile Employment Bureaux maintained by the Local Education Authorities. The country is divided into seven Divisions, in each of which there is a Divisional Controller and a Clearing-House, and there is a National Clearing-House in the Ministry of Labour in London. In 1932, 1,855,841 vacancies were filled by the various kinds of exchanges mentioned above.

The *Greek Act* of 1 August 1931 provides for the institution of employment exchanges in the most important industrial centres in the country. A Decree for the application of the Act has been submitted to the Ministerial Council.

In accordance with Act No. XVI of 1916 and Order No. 92815 of 1919, a system of employment exchanges has been instituted in *Hungary* for industry, mines and commerce. In 1931, there was a State employment office in Budapest and seven provincial exchanges, which are supervised by the Central Office for Employment Exchanges. The Budapest exchange acts as a clearing-house. Act No. II of 1898 authorised the Minister of Agriculture to issue instructions concerning employment exchanges for agricultural workers. These exchanges are supervised by the Central Office for Agricultural Employment Exchanges, created in 1921 and attached to the Ministry of Agriculture.

In the *Irish Free State*, a system of employment exchanges was established in accordance with the British Act of 1909. About a hundred local exchanges exist in the principal centres, with a central clearing-house.

In *Italy*, the organisation of employment exchanges is based on Articles XXII and XXIII of the Labour Charter of 21 April 1927 and the Royal Decrees of 29 March and 6 December 1928. There are national, inter-provincial and provincial exchanges, the field of activity of each being defined by the Decree instituting them ; they are attached to the trade unions. The local and national co-ordination of these exchanges is undertaken by the Ministry of Corporations acting in agreement with the Commissariat for Internal Migration and Settlement and other Ministries concerned, after consultation with the corporations. It is compulsory both for employers and for workers to use the services of these exchanges. There are 276 provincial offices (92 for agriculture, 92 for industry and 92 for commerce), 415 district sections, and 1,069 communal sections. There are also two national exchanges, one for the

placing of workers in rice fields, olive pickers and harvesters, and the other for theatrical artistes.

In *Japan*, the Act of 8 April 1921 made provision for free employment exchanges being set up by the authorities in towns, market towns and villages. These exchanges are subsidised by the State ; they may be set up by the local authorities acting on their own initiative or under orders from the Minister of the Interior. At the end of September 1931 there were 421 of these exchanges.

The *Grand Duchy of Luxemburg* has a system of public employment exchanges organised on the basis of an arrangement between the State and the communal administrations concerned. There are three such exchanges, one in Luxemburg, one in Esch-sur-Alzette and one in Diekirch, all being supervised by the Government.

Public employment exchanges in the *Netherlands* are regulated by the Employment Exchanges Act of 1930. Every commune of 15,000 inhabitants or over must, unless exemption is granted by the central authorities, establish a public employment exchange, while smaller communes must have an employment agent. The work of these institutions is co-ordinated by forty-two district offices. The duties of a district office may be entrusted to one of the communal offices if it does not seem necessary to create a special institution. The work of the whole network of exchanges is co-ordinated by the central office.

In *New Zealand*, public employment exchanges were set up under the Act of 1891. They are supervised by the Department of Labour. The country is divided for the purpose into seventeen districts, with a central office in the most important industrial town in each district. There are also local agencies attached to the Post Office in smaller towns. The different offices and agents collaborate closely with a view to transferring workers from one district to another.

The *Norwegian* Act of 12 June 1906 established free employment exchanges in a number of communes. They are supervised by the Ministry of Social Affairs through the Inspector of Employment Exchanges. There are at present forty-eight exchanges, with clearing-houses in five different areas.

In *Poland*, a system of State employment exchanges was instituted by the Decree of 27 January 1919, the Order of 6 July 1921 and subsequent administrative regulations and amendments. In Upper Silesia, an Order issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Assistance on 4 December 1923 set up a network of communal employment exchanges invested with the powers of public employment exchanges. At present there are twenty-four State

employment exchanges in the chief districts, thirty-three affiliated offices in less important areas, and ten communal exchanges with fifty-one affiliated offices in Upper Silesia. Their work is co-ordinated by the Central Labour Clearing-House of the Ministry of Social Assistance.

Under the Employment Exchanges Act of 22 September 1921, public employment exchanges were set up in *Rumania* in the most important areas. The mayors of urban and rural communes keep a register of the unemployed and applications for employment which they transmit to the communal or circuit exchanges. On 30 September 1931 there were thirty-six circuit exchanges.

An employment service was instituted in *Spain* by the Decree of 29 September 1920, while other provisions concerning placing in employment are to be found in the Legislative Decree of 26 November 1926. Although free employment exchanges exist in many parts of the country, their activity has not so far proved very extensive. The whole system is now being reorganised in accordance with a Decree of 25 May 1931.

In *Sweden*, employment exchanges have been set up by the provinces and certain communes. Uniformity in the system is ensured by the enforcement of certain conditions for the granting of State subsidies. These conditions were laid down in the Decree of 30 June 1916 as amended by the Decree of 16 May 1918. At the end of September 1931 there were thirty-six public employment offices responsible for thirty-six exchanges and 102 branches. Employment agents have also been appointed in a certain number of districts.

In *Switzerland*, the Cantons are obliged, by an Order of 11 November 1924, to set up employment exchanges. When circumstances justify such a step, a number of Cantons may, with the consent of the Federal Department of Public Economy, establish a joint exchange. There are at present twenty cantonal exchanges. The Cantons in which a single central office is not enough have set up communal exchanges or district exchanges for a number of communes. The work of the communal or district exchanges, which number sixteen, is co-ordinated by the cantonal exchanges, and the work of the latter by the Federal Labour Office, which sends daily to the cantonal offices a list of the applications and vacancies notified by the various cantons.

In the *Union of South Africa*, administrative measures have been taken to set up central employment exchanges in the chief town in each of the eight labour districts. Each of these exchanges deals chiefly with the towns in which it is situated, and also acts as a

clearing-house for the district. Branch exchanges are attached to the post offices in rural areas.

In the *United States*, a number of States have set up public employment services, some of which, such as that in Illinois, for example, instituted by an Act of 1899, are highly developed. All these services are co-ordinated by the United States Employment Service.

Up to 1931, the activities of this service were mainly confined to finding employment for farm labour and ex-service men. For this purpose there were in the Farm Labour Division nineteen permanent offices, and, during rush periods, over a hundred temporary offices in the agricultural districts. With regard to ex-service men, twenty-three offices were established in different parts of the country. In addition, there is an information division which publishes current information concerning the industrial employment situation. In the year ending 30 June 1931, 1,100,000 placings were effected.

In 1931, the service was reorganised, and superintendents were appointed to take charge of seven new divisions: building trades, transport, clothing and needle trades, office and mercantile trades, and marine, seamen and longshoremen. A Director was appointed by the Federal Secretary of Labour in each of the forty-eight States and in the District of Columbia, their duties being to represent the United States Employment Service in matters pertaining to co-operation with the States and municipal employment offices.

This reorganisation was undertaken after a Bill providing for the extension and improvement of the Federal Employment Service had been vetoed by the President after being passed by both the Houses of Congress. A similar Bill was, however, reintroduced in 1933 and was adopted under the title *An Act to provide for the establishment of a national employment system and for co-operation with the States in the promotion of such system, and for other purposes*. This Act creates a bureau in the Department of Labour with the title "United States Employment Service" and authorises an appropriation of 1,500,000 dollars for the year ending 30 June 1934 and 4,000,000 dollars for each of the succeeding four years. One-fourth of the annual appropriation will be available for the expenses of the Federal Employment Service. The remaining three-fourths will be allotted to the States in proportion to population and will become available as a subsidy on a dollar-for-dollar basis to States which maintain systems of employment offices in harmony with co-operative standards to

be developed under the leadership of the Director of the Federal Service. The Federal Service will provide the means for clearing labour between States and during the first three years it is authorised to maintain employment offices in States where no employment office systems exist.

On 1 January 1931, public employment exchanges were operated in twenty-three States (Arkansas, California, North Carolina, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin). In eight other States (Arizona, Colorado, North Dakota, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Nebraska, and Utah), there were laws on the Statute Book providing for public employment exchanges, but no exchanges were in fact in existence. In addition, various municipalities have attempted a limited amount of placing work. All these employment exchange services are said to be hampered by lack of sufficient funds.¹

In the *U.S.S.R.*, according to an Order of 23 January 1931 concerning "staff offices," the employment exchanges have been reorganised as staff offices. Such offices must be set up in all industrial areas. Their duties, which are much more extensive than those of the public employment services in other countries, consist essentially in satisfying labour requirements throughout the country in accordance with the economic plan.

In *Yugoslavia*, a system of public employment exchanges was set up and its organisation prescribed by the Workers' Protection Act of 28 February 1922. The system was partially reorganised by the Order of 26 November 1927 concerning employment exchanges and unemployment relief. According to that Order, public employment exchanges, with branches as required, must be set up within the area of each Chamber of Labour. A central office was also established in Belgrade. At the end of 1930 there were six exchanges with eighteen branches.

§ 2.—Autonomy of the Public Employment Exchanges and the Work of the Workers' and Employers' Representatives

A public service does not necessarily mean a bureaucracy, burdened with formalities and slow in accomplishment. Any

¹ *American Labour Legislation Review*, March 1931, p. 94. Public employment exchanges are now reported to be in operation also in Maine (ANNABEL M. STEWART and BRYCE M. STEWART: *Statistical Procedure of Public Employment Offices*, p. 221; New York, 1933).

public employment service to which these terms could be applied would be doomed to disappear, or at least to remain idle. Public employment exchanges must play an active part in the economic mechanism. If that is to be so, they must in practice, although not necessarily in their constitution, enjoy a considerable degree of independence. They are sometimes managed, or at least supervised, by joint committees of representatives of employers and workers, intended to ensure not only perfect impartiality but also technical efficiency. In the local offices, these committees help to draft the rules and practical instructions which are adapted as closely as possible to the needs of the area and to the special features of various industries or occupations of which the employers' and workers' representatives have personal experience. In the central administrative bodies the employers and workers also help to keep the administrative routine in touch with living realities.

The clause of Article 2 of the Washington Convention concerning unemployment which provides for the appointment in public employment services of committees, including representatives of employers and workers, to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of public employment exchanges, is now applied in a large number of countries.

In principle, all the public employment agencies in *Austria* are managed by joint committees of employers and workers. The members of these committees are as a general rule appointed by the District Industrial Commissions, on the recommendation of the employers' and workers' organisations.

The *Canadian* employment service is supervised by the Employment Service Council of Canada, which consists of representatives of the Department of Labour, the provincial Governments, employers' and workers' organisations, and various other organisations interested in the work of the service.

In *Denmark* the communal and county exchanges are managed by committees consisting of a chairman and two members, one representing the employers and the other the workers. The members of the local committees and their substitutes are appointed by the Communal Council, after consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned. In Copenhagen the committee consists of a chairman and six members, three representing the employers and three representing the workers. The chairman is an independent person whose appointment must be approved by the Minister for Social Affairs.

In *Estonia* the committees responsible for the administration of

the employment exchanges consist of equal numbers of representatives of employers and of workers appointed by the organisations concerned, under the chairmanship of a person appointed by the communal authorities.

In *Finland*, according to the Act of 27 March 1926 concerning public employment exchanges, the Communal Council at the headquarters of every exchange appoints to the managing committee of this exchange an equal number of representatives of employers and workers. In so far as employers' and workers' organisations exist in any locality, these organisations are invited to put forward candidates. The chairman of the managing committee is an independent person.

In *France* every municipal or Departmental exchange, and, when necessary, every special occupational section, has an administrative committee comprising an equal number of workers or salaried employees and employers, belonging, wherever possible, to the occupations with which the public employment exchanges deal most frequently. This committee is often entrusted with the administration of the public unemployment fund for the district in question, and has to decide whether unemployment benefit shall be granted or withheld. There is also a Committee on Public Employment Exchanges attached to the Ministry of Labour and responsible for fixing the rate of subsidy to be granted by the State to the exchanges. This Committee includes employers' and workers' delegates belonging to the Superior Labour Council, in addition to parliamentary representatives, officials, experts and representatives of the exchanges.

The *German* Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance is a body corporate with a considerable measure of autonomy. It is entirely responsible for the application of the legislation in force, and is managed by a President appointed directly by the President of the Reich. At every stage in the administration those directly concerned take a share in the responsibility. The governing body of the Institution and the managing committee, both of which are under the chairmanship of the President of the Institution, consist of an equal number of representatives of employers, employed persons, and the public authorities. Employers and workers are also represented in the same proportion in the State labour offices (*Landesarbeitsämter*) and the local offices (*Arbeitsämter*), which are managed by executive committees and administrative committees. They are also represented in the occupational sections attached to the various exchanges. In fact, the employers and workers have a

share in the whole working of the German public employment system.

In *Great Britain* a Local Employment Committee is attached to each exchange to advise on various questions concerning its work. This committee is appointed by the Minister of Labour, and consists of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, with certain other persons (representatives of local authorities and other local bodies, and persons with special local knowledge or experience). The latter group must not exceed one-third of the total membership of the committee. The main function of the committees is to consider any matters arising in connection with the work of the exchanges. In particular they should try to increase the use of the exchanges by the employers, help to secure employment for unemployed persons who have undergone training, keep a close watch over the state of employment in their area, and give advice and information concerning migration to the Dominions. The chairman of each committee is appointed by the Minister.

In *Hungary*, according to Order No. 92815 of 1907, a committee consisting of an equal number of employers' and workers' representatives must be attached to every public employment exchange. Ministerial Orders prescribe the method of election of these representatives for each exchange.

In the *Irish Free State* a Local Employment Committee is attached to every employment exchange, the composition and functions of the committees being for the most part similar to those in Great Britain.

Every employment exchange in *Italy* is managed by an administrative committee comprising equal numbers of representatives appointed directly by the associations of employers and workers concerned. The task of these committees is to supervise and direct the work of the exchange and to appoint placing officers, who must be selected from among the leaders of the workers' trade unions concerned. Within each province the supervision and co-ordination of the work of the various exchanges is entrusted to provincial economic councils, on which there are an equal number of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations.

In *Japan* a Central Committee for Employment Exchanges was set up under an Order of 20 February 1924, and similar committees were subsequently established in seven important centres. It is the duty of these committees to advise the administrative authorities as to the work of the exchanges. The General Director of the Department of Social Affairs acts as Chairman of the Central

Committee ; the chairmen of the other seven committees are appointed by the Cabinet from among the members of the committees, on the advice of the Minister of the Interior. The members of the committees are appointed by the Government, and consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers. Joint committees may also be set up in any town, market town or village to deal with all questions concerning employment exchanges.

The public employment exchange system in the *Grand Duchy of Luxemburg* is managed and supervised by an administrative committee consisting of one workers' and one employers' delegate. There are also committees attached to every exchange, their composition and method of election being governed by administrative rules and regulations.

Every employment exchange in the *Netherlands* (in communes of 5,000 inhabitants or more) works under the supervision of a joint committee of employers and workers under an independent chairman. The law further provides for the establishment of an Advisory Central Committee to supervise the central exchange. This committee consists of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, one or more representatives of the central and local authorities, one or more experts in employment exchange work, and the Director of the Employment and Unemployment Service of the Ministry of Labour.

In *Norway* every exchange is supervised by a committee appointed by the commune, and consisting of a chairman and an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, the organisations concerned having the right to propose candidates.

In virtue of the *Polish* Decree of 27 January 1919 concerning the organisation of employment exchanges and the Order of 18 December 1923 concerning the organisation and powers of joint advisory committees, joint advisory committees containing an equal number of representatives of employers and workers were appointed. These representatives are appointed by the communal councils and district councils, or by their substitute bodies. They are selected from among candidates put forward by the employers' and workers' organisations, or, failing such nominations, from among employers and workers, in accordance with the economic importance of the various industries concerned. These committees give advice on all matters concerning the working of the exchanges. In Poznan and Pomorze the work of these committees is governed by an Order of 30 September 1924.

In *Rumania*, joint committees consisting of an equal number of

employers and workers are attached to every exchange to advise on administrative and financial questions. These committees are supervised by the Directorate of the Employment Exchange Service.

The *Spanish* Act of 27 November 1931 and its administrative regulations stipulate that the administration of all local, provincial or district employment exchanges must be in the hands of joint committees, under the chairmanship of a workers' representative, and consisting of six members, of whom three are employers' representatives and three workers' representatives. The members of the joint committees hold office for three years, and are appointed by the employers' and workers' organisations concerned. The Central Office for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment, which co-ordinates the whole national system of exchanges, is administered by a sub-committee of the Superior Labour Council, consisting of representatives of employers and workers, and persons appointed by the Minister of Labour.

The employment exchanges in *Sweden* are managed by special committees, on which employers and workers are represented in equal numbers. These committees are appointed by the provincial or communal authorities, by whom the exchanges are set up, the names of candidates being submitted by the employers' and workers' organisations.

In *Switzerland* the Order of 11 November 1924 made it compulsory for committees with an equal number of employers' and workers' representatives to be set up as advisory bodies for all questions concerning employment exchanges. Subject to that provision, the Cantons and communes are entirely free to decide, at their discretion, how the employers' and workers' representatives shall be appointed and what shall be the exact duties of the committees. The obligation to establish a committee has so far been interpreted as meaning that Cantons need not set up a committee when circumstances make it superfluous. When, for example, the communal exchanges in any Canton have joint committees, it is not necessary to have one attached to the central exchange. On the other hand, when the central exchange for the Canton has a joint committee, it may not prove necessary to have such committees for the communal exchanges.

In *Yugoslavia* the committees of management, which are the supreme administrative bodies for the public employment exchanges, consist of seven members, three representing the employers and three the workers, with a chairman appointed by the Minister of Social Welfare. For the whole country there is a

Central Committee of nine persons ; a chairman appointed by the Cabinet Council at the suggestion of the Ministry of Social Welfare, three employers and three workers, one representative of the Central Secretariat and the Chambers of Labour, and one representative of the Federation of Industries.

§ 3.—Relations between Public Employment Services and Private Agencies

Provision for the co-ordination of public employment services and private agencies in a national system was made in the Washington Convention, at least as regards free private agencies.

As for fee-charging agencies, efforts are being made almost everywhere to have them abolished. This question was first dealt with in a Recommendation adopted by the Washington Conference in 1919. The Conference recommended " that each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take measures to prohibit the establishment of employment agencies which charge fees or which carry on their business for profit," and in the case of existing agencies that " they be permitted to operate only under Government licences, and that all practicable measures be taken to abolish such agencies as soon as possible."

A year later, at its Genoa Session, the Conference adopted a Draft Convention which included a provision for the abolition of fee-charging agencies for seamen.

At its Fifteenth Session (October 1930) the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided to place on the agenda of the Sixteenth Session (1932) of the International Labour Conference the question of the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies. Accordingly the problem came up for a first discussion at that Session of the Conference,¹ which drew up a certain number of points on which Governments were to be consulted with a view to a second discussion in 1933, when a Draft Convention and a Recommendation were adopted.

The Draft Convention provides that fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit should be abolished within three years of the date on which the Convention comes into force for each country. In the meantime no new agency of that kind shall be established, and existing agencies shall be subject to supervision and shall only charge fees and expenses on an approved scale. Certain exceptions are allowed in respect of occupations in which placing work is carried on under special conditions, provided

¹ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1932 : *Abolition of Fee-Charging Employment Agencies*. Geneva, 1932.

that certain conditions relating to supervision, licensing, fees and expenses, and placing in foreign countries, are complied with. On the other hand fee-charging agencies not conducted with a view to profit are also subjected to conditions of a similar character.

The Recommendation urges member States to take certain rules and methods into consideration in dealing with fee-charging agencies. Some of the clauses concern the working of the public exchanges.¹

Until these international measures have become fully effective, it is important not only to limit as far as possible the harmful consequences of a system of fee-charging agencies by having them supervised by the authorities, but also to co-ordinate their activities and those of private agencies in general with the public system, so as to make use of any services which private agencies are able to render on the labour market. A large number of countries in which private agencies exist have taken steps for such co-ordination. A very rough distinction may be made between four types of co-ordination.

In the first place the authorities responsible for supervising private agencies may, when granting licences, take special account of the existence or otherwise of a public exchange in the district or occupation concerned, thus endeavouring to supplement the public employment system by private organisations. In the second place, the authorities responsible for public exchanges may either be entrusted with the supervision of private agencies or at least be given some share in this supervision. In this way the policy adopted by the private exchanges can be governed or influenced by those responsible for the public exchanges. In the third place, the co-ordination of private and public exchanges may take the form of co-operation between the two types either by an exchange of information or by the establishment of a clearing-house between them. The fourth type of co-ordination consists in the more or less complete absorption of certain private agencies in the public employment exchange system.

In *Belgium*, under a Royal Order of 19 February 1924, measures were taken to co-ordinate on a national scale the operations of the free employment agencies established and subsidised by the State with those of the public employment exchanges set up by the authorities themselves. All these exchanges keep one another informed of the applications they receive for workers or for employment.

¹ The Draft Convention and Recommendation will be found in the Appendix at the end of this study.

The employment exchanges which exist in *Bulgaria* in connection with employers' and workers' organisations are permitted to carry on their work provided that they charge no fees. These agencies are supervised by the State and work in close connection with the public exchanges.

In *Denmark* the unemployment funds and the trade unions collaborate closely with the public employment system.

There are only a few private employment agencies in *Finland*, managed by certain associations and dealing only with certain categories of workers not usually covered by public employment exchanges.

In *France* the work of the public employment exchanges is co-ordinated by the divisional employment offices. The supervision exercised over private agencies, for which provision was made in the Act of 1904, became more strict under the Act of 19 July 1928, section 3 of which provides that "in each Department, every employment agency, whether fee-charging or free, shall be bound to forward every week to the Departmental Employment Office a statistical return of offers of and applications for employment, and vacancies filled." In practice this permits the Departmental offices to exercise a considerable measure of supervision over the private agencies. In the Department of the Seine, for example, the Departmental Office not only registers the figures submitted to it weekly by the private agencies, but has enquiries carried out by special inspectors to ensure that these statistics are accurate, and that the agencies are complying with the regulations in every respect. With regard to the establishment of new fee-charging agencies, every application is submitted for an opinion to the administrative committee of the Departmental employment office, and subsequently to the National Labour Council. Save in very exceptional cases, no licences are granted for new fee-charging agencies.

In *Germany* the work of finding employment is carried out privately by certain agencies not run for profit, which are independent of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. According to the Act of 16 July 1927, however, their work is supervised by that Institution, which also provides for collaboration between the private agencies and the public exchanges.

In *Great Britain* and the *Irish Free State*, under section 17 of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 associations of employed persons (such as trade unions or approved societies under the Health Insurance Act) may make an arrangement under which these associations are made responsible for distributing the

Government unemployment benefits to their members. One of the conditions to be fulfilled by these associations is that of having effective machinery for notifying opportunities of employment. For this purpose each branch of the Association concerned is connected with the local public employment exchange and makes a weekly return of days of proved unemployment of members who are claiming benefit. If an association is unable to find employment for its members, application is made to the public employment exchange, which offers vacancies if available. There is no other co-operation between the public exchanges and private agencies, except in the placing of domestic servants (see p. 128).

In *Hungary*, under Order No. 85237 of 1928, private employment agencies must submit statistics to the public employment exchanges at regular intervals. They must also inform the exchanges immediately of applications for labour which they are unable to meet.

According to section 1 of the *Italian* Royal Decree of 9 December 1929 amending section 10 of the Royal Decree of 29 March 1928, it is forbidden for private persons, associations or any other bodies to act as agents for finding employment, even without fee, for any categories of workers for which employment exchanges have been set up, at least within the area covered by these exchanges. In point of fact, there are very few categories of workers for which the establishment of private agencies would be possible.

In *Japan* the co-ordination of the public and private exchanges is entrusted to the central and local exchanges working under the supervision of the Minister for Home Affairs. These central and local exchanges, apart from their normal work, supervise the activities of all the exchanges in their respective areas. Steps have been taken to ensure an exchange of information between the various agencies. When there are several employment agencies in one place, one of them is appointed to co-ordinate the work of the whole group. Similarly, in every prefecture or larger administrative area, the employment exchange appoints one agency to co-ordinate the work of all the private agencies. Applications for labour which cannot be met by the agencies must be notified to the superior co-ordinating body.

According to the *Netherlands* Employment Exchanges Act of 1930, private agencies whose work is carried on under conditions similar to those of the public exchanges may apply to be treated in the same way as the public exchanges, collaborating with the latter and receiving a State subsidy. Private free agencies, which are not treated in the same way as the public exchanges, must

send their placing statistics every month to the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In *Poland*, according to the Act of 21 October 1921, a licence to open an employment agency cannot be granted if there are already a sufficient number of employment agencies in the district in question, and more particularly if a free public employment exchange is working satisfactorily in the district.

Under the *Rumanian* Employment Exchanges Act of 22 September 1921, every private free employment agency must obtain a licence from the regional inspector of the Ministry of Labour. The Ministry may supervise the operations of all private agencies and may prohibit the continuation of those which fail to comply with the conditions laid down.

Private employment agencies may be set up in *Spain* by official institutions, trade unions or other associations, but they must not charge fees and they must be inspected by the public employment service.

In *Sweden* private employment agencies are not supervised by the State. No measures have been taken to co-ordinate their work with that of the free employment service, but in point of fact there is a certain amount of collaboration between the public and private exchanges. It is intended to make provision for the co-ordination of their work in the course of the general revision of the legislation on employment exchanges.

In *Switzerland* an Order of 11 November 1924 stipulates that the Federal Department of Public Economy must take the necessary steps to co-ordinate the operations of the free public and private exchanges. A certain number of industrial associations collaborate in making a monthly survey of the Swiss labour market. In addition, the daily clearing-house bulletin prepared by the Federal Office for Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour is communicated to all the industrial associations when it contains any information likely to be of interest to them. A joint occupational employment exchange exists for "technical occupations." The employment service of the Swiss Traders' Society was transformed in 1930 into a joint institution known as the Swiss Employment Service for Commercial Staff. Both these institutions are recognised by the Federal authorities. Co-ordination between the joint agencies and the public exchanges is ensured by close collaboration and by the regular notification of applications for employment or for workers received by the Federal Office for Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour and by the cantonal offices.

Free public employment exchanges in *Yugoslavia* are given

priority in the work of placing throughout the whole country, and may collaborate with employment agencies set up by the communes, public utility organisations, welfare and charitable associations and workers' organisations. These agencies may receive public subsidies if they fulfil certain conditions laid down in the regulations. With regard to the co-existence of public and private exchanges, the law prescribes that wherever a public exchange or a branch of such an exchange exists, all fee-charging agencies must be closed within one year from the date on which the public exchange was established. In accordance with that provision, fee-charging exchanges are now being closed down throughout the whole of Yugoslavia.

§ 4.—Registration and Co-ordination of Vacancies and Applications for Employment

A placing system is most effective when it has a large number of vacancies and a large number of applications. The greater its hold on the labour market the greater are the chances for the employer to find the workers he requires and for the worker to obtain a job that suits him. One of the first conditions for the efficiency of a public employment service must therefore be to have an extensive clientele.

RELATIONS WITH EMPLOYERS

With regard to employers, it is important in the first place that the material arrangements for notifying vacancies should be as simple as possible. The employer must be able to get in touch with the exchange easily whenever he requires its services. Thus in Germany and in other countries a Sunday service has been organised to deal with vacancies in restaurants, while other exchanges are open early in the morning or late in the evening to meet other requirements.

The employment exchanges must be so arranged that there is a special door for employers, that they can be received by the official-in-charge in a separate room, and that another room is provided for interviewing applicants. The majority of vacancies, however, are notified by post, by telegram, and still more by telephone. The telephone has the advantage of enabling the employer to have a conversation with the placing officer without leaving his place of business. The necessity for installing a telephone in employment exchanges has long been recognised in most countries. As early as

1906 the great importance of the telephone for this purpose had been pointed out in Germany.¹

Recent experience confirms this view. The Leipzig employment exchange, for example, found that after mentioning its telephone number in newspaper advertisements it was able to double its activity in one year and to treble it by the end of fifteen months.²

The registration of vacancies, especially of those communicated verbally, should not be considered a mechanical task. The official in charge of this duty requires a considerable amount of skill, tact and experience. He must be able to obtain all the necessary information from the employer in the shortest possible time and to inform him whether it is possible to meet his needs immediately or on what date approximately applicants will be sent to him.

Once the order has been received it must be carried out rapidly and exactly, for the quality of the services rendered is the most important factor. But although the efficiency of the employment service will determine to a great extent the custom which it enjoys, the reason for the employer's disinclination to use it is not always its inadequate organisation but often ignorance or a traditional preference for some other system. Even in countries where the employment service is excellently organised and has existed for a number of years, it is not uncommon, particularly in agriculture, to find employers who are full of prejudice against or distrust of the public employment exchanges. Very often they are ignorant of the advantages and special features of the organisation and sometimes they are even unaware of its existence.³

In order to win custom, the employment exchanges must use the normal methods of business publicity.

On the occasion of the Fourth German Placing Congress, Professor Jastrow stated that advertising was indispensable for the development of public placing work.⁴ This fact has been widely recognised, and the budgets of public employment services in most countries contain items, sometimes large amounts, for publicity. The most useful form of publicity is the newspaper, and employment exchanges often insert advertisements, sometimes in the form of illustrations, in the local press at regular intervals. The exchange must keep in close touch with the daily and technical papers so as to ensure the publication of leading articles, other

¹ *Der öffentliche Arbeitsmarkt*, 3rd year, p. 395.

² *Arbeit und Beruf*, 1927, p. 719.

³ *Reichsarbeitsmarktanzeiger*, 15 May 1928, and *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, May and June 1932.

⁴ *Der öffentliche Arbeitsnachweis*, March 1926.

articles or communications to the press which will convey to those concerned some knowledge of the aims and methods of the public employment service. Periodical communications to the press concerning the state of the labour market are of great interest to newspapers and will therefore be readily accepted. For instance, the monthly *Labour Market Letter* issued by the Boston Employment Exchange is sent to all the local papers and published by a large number of them.¹ In Switzerland and France, and particularly in the Department of the Seine, communications are sent to the press showing the general state of the labour market during a particular season or year, and drawing the attention of the public to the labour problems of certain industries or trades. These communications are usually widely published. The administrative and financial reports which the public employment exchanges have to prepare every year may also be used for arousing the interest of employers and workers if they contain statistics and practical, useful information concerning the situation in different occupations. An example of this may be found in the annual reports which have been published for the last thirteen years on the work of the employment exchange of the Department of the Seine.

Apart from newspapers, advertisements may also appear in directories, telephone directories, the backs of bills from gas or electricity undertakings, etc. Posters are often used in industrial quarters or round about the employment exchange, as well as in tram-cars and railway carriages. It is also a good idea for the public employment service to have a special badge. In Germany, the employment service has adopted as its badge a hand grasping a hammer and holding it out to an empty hand. This is accompanied by a sentence explaining that placing is impartial and free of charge.

The publication and distribution of printed matter of all kinds and the use of circular letters may also be valuable for propaganda purposes, especially as such forms of publicity need not be stereotyped, but can be adapted to the special conditions of different branches of industry.

The external appearance of the premises should not be neglected, and, in particular, the name of the exchange should be sufficiently visible to attract the attention of passers-by.

Modern technical improvements have supplied the public employment exchanges with other means of propaganda for

¹ SHELBY M. HARRISON and others : *Public Employment Offices, Their Purpose, Structure and Methods*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1924.

reaching a wide public. Electric signs, wireless and the cinema are being more and more widely used.

Public lectures by qualified speakers and exhibitions in which the employment exchanges have a stand have also a certain value as propaganda.

The exchanges often enlist the support of employers or employers' organisations in their publicity work. The joint committees on which employers are represented are extremely important from this point of view. The mere fact of their existence convinces other employers of the impartiality of the placing institution and inspires them with confidence in its efficiency. The employers' representatives on the joint committees also try to stimulate interest in the public employment service among those whom they represent. The employers who share in the supervision or administration of local exchanges are often themselves important employers of labour in the district. Moreover, as there are a number of trades with a very highly developed corporate tradition, this fact must be borne in mind by the employment exchange in organising its work. From this point of view steady collaboration with the joint committees and frequent contacts with the employers and workers on the committees may prove very valuable for the exchanges.

A good example of propaganda among employers is provided by the National Farmers' Union in Great Britain. In order to overcome the resistance to the public employment service in agriculture, an article was published in the *National Farmers' Union Record* explaining the service which the exchanges could give to farmers. Later, an advertisement drawing attention to public employment exchanges was sent to the same magazine, and similar notes, adapted to local requirements, appeared in the local editions of the *Record*. At the same time, the Union sent a circular letter to all its branches asking them to point out to their members the advantages of collaboration with the public employment service. It recommended among other things that representatives of the service should be invited to attend meetings of the executive committees.¹ Similarly, sugar manufacturers undertook propaganda work among the firms with which they deal for the placing of workers in the beet sugar industry.²

Another method used by the employment exchanges for obtain-

¹ "The Supply of Agricultural Labour in 1931," in *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, May 1932.

² "Employment in the Beet Sugar Industry, 1931," in *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, June 1932.

ing information as to vacancies is to get into personal touch with those concerned. In certain countries, such as Germany, Great Britain and the United States, canvassers have been appointed by the exchanges to do this work. They may have two tasks, the first being to get into close and regular touch with employers of labour, so as to remove any prejudices or apprehensions concerning the public employment service by explaining that it is impartial and offers a variety of advantages ; in the second place they inform the employers what workers are at present registered with the exchange, enquire as to the conditions of employment and receive notice of vacancies, which they immediately communicate to the exchange to which they are attached.

It is generally considered better for the canvassers not to be special officials but as far as possible the placing officers themselves. The work may be divided up on a territorial or occupational basis, or a list of undertakings may be drawn up for each official to visit. The canvassers must make brief notes in a visiting-book or on special forms concerning the nature and result of their interviews. In *Great Britain*, for example, the divisional controllers are responsible for organising canvassing arrangements in their respective divisions. The managers of the employment exchanges are generally expected to give about half their time to this work. Sometimes the work is entrusted to other responsible officers of the employment exchange.

In a memorandum prepared by the *German Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance*¹ for the use of the employment exchanges, canvassers are advised to visit more particularly undertakings in which there is expected to be a demand for labour in the near future, undertakings which have so far not received satisfaction from the exchange, and others which are unfavourable to the exchange for some other reason. The canvassers are also instructed to visit an undertaking whenever it seems desirable to draw the attention of the employer to workers who appear to be specially suited to his requirements and who are at the time registered with the exchange. At the same time the canvassers must avoid any useless intrusions on the employer's time. The Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance also stresses the necessity of tackling the employer in the manner most calculated to convince him, using arguments which harmonise with his general economic outlook.

¹ *Richtlinien für die Durchführung der Arbeitsvermittlung in den Arbeitsämtern*, herausgegeben von der Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, Berlin, June 1932.

But it is not sufficient for the canvasser to have definite instructions. He must himself possess the necessary tact, skill and subtlety for carrying out a delicate task of this kind. An example from Great Britain is of interest in this connection.

"Good Friday and the following days are very often used by commercial firms in England for maintenance and painting work. A canvasser attached to a London employment exchange happened to tell us how on Good Friday of this year he went to a railway station near the exchange at 7.30 a.m. to await the arrival of a painting contractor who generally came in from the suburbs at that time. He offered the contractor the services of the exchange and obtained an urgent order for twelve painters. He rushed to the exchange, where unemployed painters had already been convened in order to meet such a possibility, and before 8 o'clock the workers were at the employers' disposal."¹

One of the great advantages of the system of canvassers is their mobility. They must "be released from their desks, and have motor cars, motor cycles or cycles at their disposal to establish and maintain touch with employers in their area."²

Among the means employed by the public employment exchanges for increasing the volume of their operations, reference should also be made to the study and forecasting of the various trends of the labour market. The memorandum of the German Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance already referred to has a number of recommendations on this point. The exchanges should always foresee probable developments in labour requirements so as to be able at the appropriate moment to offer workers to employers who need them. The Institution recommends that special attention should be paid to seasonal movements in various industries and to any local events which presuppose an increase in the amount of labour required in any group of undertakings. The exchanges should be in touch with the authorities so as to receive information as to public works, contracts, the addition of new undertakings to the commercial register, etc. It is also recommended that the commercial press should be carefully studied; not only the articles but also the advertisements indicate whether opportunities for employment are likely to arise in any particular industry or occupation. Definite offers can also be made in reply to advertisements of vacancies.

In other countries, similar methods are employed. Thus, in Great Britain, the situation in seasonal industries is carefully

¹ Reported by Mr. MAX GOTTSCHALK in the *Revue du Travail* (Belgium), June 1932.

² "Stand und Probleme der öffentlichen Arbeitsvermittlung," in *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, Teil II, 1932, No. 7.

studied. The employment exchanges generally get into touch with those concerned early in the year so as to have some idea of the probable demand for labour in the beet sugar industry and the best methods of meeting that demand.¹ Similar methods are adopted to meet the seasonal demand for workers in summer resorts and the requirements of the Post Office at Christmas and New Year.

In some countries the propaganda work of the exchanges is reinforced by legislative or administrative measures guaranteeing the public exchanges a privileged situation on the labour market. Reference has already been made to measures which restrict the activities of private agencies or make it more or less compulsory to apply to the public exchanges.

Such an obligation to obtain workers through the employment exchanges exists in *Italy*, where the system of exchanges is based on the fundamental principle of collaboration between the different factors of production under the supervision of the State, putting the economic interests of the whole country above private interest. This explains the characteristic features of the Italian system, including the joint representation of employers and workers in the exchange system, the establishment of free public exchanges, the compulsion to use these exchanges and the prohibition of private agencies. As the State does not permit labour to be recruited directly or through a private agent it undertakes the placing work itself and thus keeps a check on the labour market. It considers placing as a public duty which it carries out by its corporative organisation, thus making it compulsory for the employers and workers to use the public system of exchanges.²

¹ "Unemployment in the Beet Sugar Industry in 1931," in *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, June 1932.

² The fundamental ideas on which the present system of employment exchanges in Italy is based find expression in a study published by Mr. Joseph Bottai, former Minister of Corporations:

" . . . The institution of employment exchanges marks a turning-point in the economic history of our country. This is more than a new piece of legislation; it is a complete, radical transformation of the system which has hitherto governed the labour market. . . .

" Is it possible to protect society against the tremendous loss of wealth often involved in economic conflicts and the serious moral scourge of violent class hatred by ensuring that the same results are obtained not by conflict but by the intervention of the State? Can the State act as an arbitrator between the two hostile classes and administer justice? The new Italian labour legislation has given an affirmative reply to these questions. The system reaches its culmination in the institution of the labour courts and the various bodies appointed under those courts for dealing with disputes between capital and labour. But while those bodies may be said to constitute the therapeutic side of the system, the organisation of employment exchanges represents the preventive aspect of the work, or, to adhere to a medical metaphor, a prophylactic for class conflict. . . . The State, by intervening at this point (placing), which is the most delicate aspect

From the practical point of view this obligatory principle, which was mentioned as applying to employers in Article XXIII of the Labour Charter of 21 April 1927, was made effective by very gradual stages. The legislative provisions and regulations making it compulsory for employers to apply to the public employment exchanges will be found in the Royal Decree No. 1003 of 29 March 1928 concerning the National Organisation of Labour Supply and Demand, Royal Decree No. 3222 of 6 December 1928 issuing regulations for the administration of the above Decree, and Royal Decrees Nos. 2333 and 2393 of 9 December 1929 amending the above. The two Decrees of 1928 gave the public employment exchanges an intermediate character between the purely optional and the strictly obligatory form, for they made it compulsory for the employer to engage unemployed workers registered with the exchanges, but permitted him at the same time to engage them directly. The legal obligation, therefore, was limited to registration and the notification of engagements and dismissals to the employment exchange. It was left to the discretion of the Ministry of Corporations to prohibit anyone from acting as an employment agent. Later, the increase in the number of public employment exchanges, the tendency to mention their compulsory nature in collective agreements, and the necessity for the complete application of the principles of the Labour Charter led to the reform laid down in the two Decrees of 9 December 1929. These Decrees enforced and defined the compulsory principle as applied to the public employment system, and prohibited any private person, association or body of any kind from acting as agents, even without fee, for the placing of workers. It was made compulsory for the employer to engage workers through the employment exchanges. In order, however, to leave a certain amount of elasticity in the system, the Ministry of Corporations was empowered to prescribe by Ministerial Decree such exceptions as might be necessary and the date on which the compulsory principle should take effect. Ministerial Decrees of 23 September 1930 and 25 February 1931 fixed this date in the case of public employment exchanges for workers in agriculture and commerce respectively.

In the case of industrial employment exchanges a number of

of the whole cycle of production, is not merely performing an economic duty by preventing a useless waste of wealth and consequently reducing the cost of production, but also a moral duty in seeking to enforce the discipline of law in relationships which up to the present have been governed by the blind play of opposing forces."

(*Gli uffici di collocamento*. Rome, Ed. del "Diritto del Lavoro," 1928.)

similar provisions concerning their compulsory character were introduced in virtue of the Ministerial Decree of 9 December 1929.

Public administrative services have, so far as they employ labour, the same obligations towards the employment exchanges as private individuals. It is true that the Royal Decree No. 1003 of 29 March 1928 exempted them from the obligation of engaging workers through the public employment service, but the head of the Government explained in a Circular of 20 August 1932 that this exemption was implicitly repealed by Act No. 358 of 9 April 1931 concerning internal migration and settlement.

Another example of measures giving the public employment service a monopoly for part of the labour market will be found in the provisions of the *German Act*, according to which undertakings controlled by the Government must recruit their staff through the public employment exchanges. There is no legal obligation for private employers, but collective agreements sometimes contain clauses in accordance with which the employer undertakes to recruit the necessary workers through the appropriate public exchanges, and the workers agree to apply to these exchanges when giving notice or seeking employment. According to statistics of collective agreements in force on 1 December 1925, about 44 per cent. of all workers in employment were covered by this obligation. The spread of collective agreements in Germany in recent years makes it certain that the percentage must now be considerably higher.

A less radical measure is the obligation simply to notify the employment exchanges of posts which fall vacant.

In *Germany* the authorities may in certain cases make it compulsory for employers to make a declaration of this kind to the appropriate employment exchange; this obligation may be restricted to certain given areas or occupations.¹ In *Poland*, Orders issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Assistance require establishments subject to unemployment insurance (with the exception of State and communal establishments) to notify the public employment exchanges of any vacancies and of all newly engaged staff. It may also be noted that the Bill concerning employment exchanges at present in course of preparation in *Czechoslovakia* contains provisions which would make it compulsory for employers to notify the exchange of any vacancies and not to engage workers until three days have elapsed, during

¹ Up to the present the Federal Minister of Labour has never made use of these powers.

which the employment exchange could send applicants to the employer. In *Great Britain*, the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance in its Final Report (1932) recommends that the Minister of Labour be given power to prescribe by Order the classes of vacancies in the national and local government services which must be notified to employment exchanges and filled by selection from persons submitted by the exchanges.

If the public employment exchanges are to render the fullest service to the economic interests of the community they must be so organised that those who use them can profit by the experience of the placing officers and by the possibility of making a selection among the applicants registered. The officer must be able to select candidates on the basis of the same criteria as those that the employer would have used and to reply to the worker's questions as the employer himself would have done. This is specially important when workers are being transferred to another district, as will be seen later.

Theoretically, then, every detail concerning the job in question is of concern to the placing officer. But in practice he must only ask the employer really essential questions unless he wishes to make the process too complicated. It is necessary to develop a system by which the officer can obtain the fullest possible information with a minimum of questions.

The technical problems involved in the registration of vacancies have therefore a dual aspect. In the first place, an adequate description must be given of each vacancy, and in the second place, this description must be obtained by a rapid series of questions.

Take first of all the information concerning the vacancy which the placing officer must possess if he is going to carry out his task with the greatest degree of efficiency.¹

A first group of questions will refer to the employer : his name, address, telephone number and branch of industry. It is also important to know to whom the applicants must apply : to the employer, a manager, foreman or an employee responsible for the engagement of workers.

A second group will provide information concerning the type of job, including the nature of the work to be performed, the remuneration and the length of the engagement. With regard to the work to be performed, full and detailed information is required

¹ Cf. SHELBY M. HARRISON and others, *op. cit.*

as to the conditions of work. The placing officer must be able to reply to the applicant's questions concerning the special features of the job : whether it is hard or light work, whether it is an indoor or outdoor job, whether it involves standing or sitting, whether it is slow or quick, rough or fine, clean or dirty, etc. He must also be able to give the applicant some information showing the type and amount of work required. In the case of domestic service, for example, the applicant must be informed of the number of members in the household, the number of children, the number of servants and the number of rooms.

The information concerning remuneration will include the method of paying wages (time rates, piece rates, etc.), the rate of wages, any payments in kind, holidays with pay, etc. The placing officer must also be informed of the hours of work, and he must know how long the job is likely to last and what living conditions are like in the locality in question. This last point is important when the worker is transferred to a different district.

A final group of questions refers to the qualifications required of the worker. The placing officer must know exactly what are the occupational requirements, the general education, vocational training, experience and other special qualifications required of the candidate. The employer may lay down certain conditions concerning age, sex, civil status, character, physical strength, equipment possessed by the applicant, etc. In some cases account has to be taken of religion, nationality, membership or non-membership of a trade union. In many countries, however, the public employment exchanges are not permitted to apply such criteria.

In obtaining the necessary information from the employer, the placing officer is guided by the various headings on the order form. Some of these will refer to the various points mentioned above, while others are for office remarks : serial number, date of receipt, name or initials of officer, number of workers required, latest date for applications, etc. Space must also be kept for information concerning the results.

It is generally recommended that these forms should be on cards which are easily handled and can be kept in a card index. The necessity for economy of space in the different headings must not prevent the information from being clearly shown. The card may be filled up with the help of abbreviations understood by all the officials in the exchange.

The selection and wording of the questions printed on the form will vary according to whether there is a single type of form or different forms for different kinds of jobs. Sometimes special

forms are used for certain occupational groups, with a general form for various or ill-defined occupations which do not fall into these groups.

RELATIONS WITH THE WORKERS

It is of primary importance that the public employment exchange should, by judicious advertising and still more by the standard of its work, convince the employer that it will pay him to use the exchange. But it is no less important to persuade the worker that the public employment service is there to serve him impartially and efficiently and that it cannot be an effective agent in balancing demand and supply in the labour market unless those in search of workers and of employment make constant use of its services.

An outline has already been given of the means of publicity and propaganda employed by modern public employment exchanges to enlist the support of employers. Generally speaking, the same methods can be used to arouse the interest of those in search of employment, but in this case propaganda will have to be carried out through different channels and in different places. Just as the public employment exchange tries to awaken the interest of employers by articles and advertisements concerning its work in employers' papers (an example of this has been quoted from Great Britain) so it must use not only the general press but also trade union publications in order to catch the eye of the worker. It will doubtless also be found desirable, particularly in countries with a high proportion of illiterates or workers of different races, to use advertisements with little text, relying chiefly on pictorial representation.

Normally, the same publicity may serve the dual purpose of attracting applications for labour and for jobs, but a special effort to persuade workers to notify their search for employment is justified whenever labour is scarce. In such periods very close co-ordination between the various employment agencies throughout the whole country becomes extremely important, and the agent must be able to leave his office and work as an actual recruiter of labour. Every form of publicity must then be employed ; the exchange must spread its posters throughout the whole working-class district and seek opportunities for personal contact. The value of the exchange will be judged by the employer in accordance with its efficiency when labour is scarce, and the worker will also be attracted if good openings are rapidly found for him.

In its propaganda work the exchange must make special efforts to win the confidence of skilled workers. Too frequently, as is only natural in view of the structure of the labour market, the public employment service has the reputation among employers and among skilled workers of being useless except for the placing of unskilled labour. It must be admitted, too, that in some cases the employment exchange, as a result of inadequate specialisation or lack of individual treatment, helps to lend colour to this view by some very crass blunder in its work. The possession of special qualifications implies specialisation, and later sections of this study will show that in many countries the extensive development of specialised services has enabled the public employment service to gain the confidence and support even of those categories of workers whose natural independence of spirit is such as to make them extremely distrustful of any administrative department.

The very best form of advertisement will always be the services rendered ; the most valuable propaganda work is done by those persons for whom the exchange has obtained employment or workers. Therein lies one of the greatest advantages of the joint committees which are practically always attached to public employment exchanges. The members of these committees are generally selected among employers and among workers from those occupations which make most frequent demands on the exchange, and these committee members, by the mere fact of supervising the work of the exchange, constitute a most valuable form of publicity and the best guarantee for the efficiency and impartiality of the public employment service.

While outside propaganda is essential for interesting the workers in the public employment service, the individual in search of employment forms his real opinion inside the exchange throughout the whole operation of attempting to find a job. The arrangement of the premises, the welcome he receives, and even the character of the employment agent will, as a rule, determine his final attitude.

The most important point in this connection is the judicious selection of the placing officer. The first requirement is that he should be able to gain the confidence of the workers who apply to him. The ability to act as an impartial and objective adviser must go hand in hand with adaptability and a thorough knowledge of the worker's mentality. Above all, he must be able to simplify and conceal as far as possible the bureaucratic formalities involved. Tact on the part of the placing officer is necessary to convince the applicant that his essential duty is to serve the latter, while conveying

exactly the same impression to the employer in search of workers. Whenever placing operations are restricted to a skilled occupation, he must naturally supplement the general qualifications by a thorough knowledge of the occupation in question. In certain cases, indeed, as for example in the artistic professions, the only way to gain the confidence of those concerned is to appoint as employment agents persons who have been in the profession. A large number of placing operations fail simply because the agent is unable to appreciate fully the qualities required by the employer or the qualities offered by the applicant. An occupational index, no matter how detailed, cannot replace the personal experience of the placing officer in this connection.

It will be seen that the placing officer must be a man of many and varied gifts not always easy to find combined in one individual. They certainly justify those who possess them in claiming an economic situation which the public employment exchanges are too often prevented by financial considerations from granting to their officers.

Another essential factor in making the public employment service appreciated by the workers in general is the arrangement of the exchange premises. Not every country has been able or willing, as certain German towns have been, to devote quite large sums to the construction of modern buildings which might almost be termed luxurious. Without going to that extreme, however, the authorities should try to ensure that the mere look of the premises does not give the impression of extreme poverty. When the unemployed worker applies to an employment exchange he is performing an important economic function: he is offering his labour power. Simple premises which are at the same time bright and cheerful will encourage him to make that offer again, whereas a badly kept office in an undesirable locality exuding an atmosphere of bureaucracy will increase the worker's sense of disillusionment and of the futility of his efforts. A well-organised employment exchange will try to adapt its premises to the needs, or at least to certain legitimate preferences, of those for whom it caters. It cannot but prove advantageous from the point of view of placing to have separate reception-rooms for workers of special occupations or for young workers, not to mention the discrimination which is always made between the sexes. Such measures not only facilitate the technical work but also help to foster among those in search of employment that favourable psychological atmosphere which is generally created when contact is established between persons in an identical situation.

Comfortable waiting-rooms must not be thought to be a useless luxury. They help to attract applicants, and they are absolutely indispensable if the exchange is to be of any use for the engagement of extra labour, which must always be done on the spot and is of great importance in large towns.

Indispensable as are efficiency, propaganda, the right type of agent and suitable premises in making the public employment exchanges popular, in the last resort it is the nature of the legislation which determines the extent to which the services are used. In countries with compulsory unemployment insurance covering the majority of workers, the public employment service can exercise very extensive control over the labour market simply because it is competent to grant unemployment benefit. As part of the insurance scheme it has a monopoly which involves a risk of unduly bureaucratic methods being adopted by the public employment service, which thus becomes repellent to the workers. There is all the more need, therefore, for it to cultivate all the qualities of adaptability, efficiency and attractiveness outlined above.

Whereas vacancies are generally notified to the employment exchanges by letter, or more often by telephone, applications for employment should, whenever possible, be made by the individual himself. Quite apart from the rules governing unemployment insurance, which generally make this compulsory, it is essential for technical reasons. In the first place, the presence of the applicant in person enables jobs to be filled immediately by any suitable candidate. In the second place, only an interview with the applicant can enable the placing officer to form a definite idea of his occupational capabilities and to offer him the most suitable post. Experience has shown that applications made by post are nearly always incomplete, vague or overloaded with irrelevant personal details. In certain countries, such as Great Britain and Spain, the regulations prescribe that save in exceptional circumstances the applicant *must* attend in person to be registered. When this rule is not followed the applicant should, at his request, be supplied with an appropriate application form by the employment exchange.

Applications for employment are registered with the local exchange, generally in the district in which the worker resides. Among the exceptions to this rule reference may be made to Great Britain, where the placing of young persons is left in certain districts to special offices organised by the local education authority. In other countries, particularly in rural areas, applica-

tions for employment are also received by administrative authorities such as the mayor or the local post office, through which applications are transmitted to the employment service. In Canada, for instance, this method of registration would seem to have given very satisfactory results in the placing of agricultural workers.

The data which must be noted when unemployed workers are registered vary for different countries or districts as well as for different occupations and types of vacancies. They include in the first place the name of the applicant, his age, place of birth, address, and civil status ; in the second place, his occupational ability or his preferences as regards employment ; thirdly, various items intended more particularly as a check for unemployment insurance purposes. Although such a division need not be strictly applied, it will be convenient to examine the details under these three heads.

Identity of the Worker

Some of the details in the first group are intended merely to establish the worker's identity. The address of the applicant and his telephone number, if any, are essential. It must be possible to summon any registered unemployed worker to the employment exchange in the shortest possible time. In Great Britain, when a post suitable for a certain applicant falls vacant, the employment exchange notifies the post office nearest the worker's home, by telephone, and the post office immediately sends a message to the worker on a special form prepared for this purpose. Elsewhere, as for example in Italy, it is compulsory by law for the applicant to notify the employment exchange at once of any change of address.

The indication of the worker's nationality is useful for supervising the employment of foreign labour and is essential if preference is given to nationals of the country. On the other hand, when a vacant post is reserved for a national worker on account of the employer's preference or on account of the state of the labour market, such information prevents the exchange from troubling unsuitable applicants. In Germany, the employment exchanges are obliged, when applications for employment are made by persons not of German nationality, to make certain that the applicants are in possession of the documents required by law (residence permit, labour permit, exemption card, etc.) and, if necessary, to inform them of the difficulty of finding employment.

It is important to know whether the applicant is married or single and whether he has children or other persons to maintain, not only because of the different rates of unemployment benefit

which may be due but also because these conditions may, other things being equal, determine the order of preference for placing workers in employment. These facts are also valuable when placing involves a change of residence for the worker, or for the placing of certain categories of workers, such as agricultural labourers, who are sometimes engaged along with the whole of their family. Other personal features such as physical qualities or defects and information concerning the character or morals of the applicant should be included in the registration form in so far as they make the applicant more or less suitable for any given employment.

Occupational Qualifications

The questions in the second group are the most important from the technical point of view. From them the occupational qualifications of each applicant are ascertained, and on the exactitude of the data depends to a great extent the success of the placing. They show first of all the worker's normal trade, his degree of occupational specialisation and the post which he wishes to obtain. These three points are so closely connected that in practice a number of exchanges consider them as a single group of questions. It is obviously very important to note the physical strength of the applicant, the existence of any weakness, of any infectious disease or of incapacity for certain types of work. In doubtful cases the German employment exchanges, for instance, may request workers in search of employment to be examined by a doctor or may enforce such an examination in the case of persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. The exchange may also obtain confidential information from social insurance institutions. Applicants who are suspected of suffering from an infectious disease may be sent to the public health authorities for examination.

Account must also be taken of any subsidiary types of employment for which the applicant is fitted, for such extra knowledge may make him more useful in his principal occupation. This information is of special importance when the labour market in certain occupations is so overcrowded that workers must be transferred from one occupation to another. When these facts are known the placing officer should have a clear idea of the industries for which the applicant is best fitted and of his special knowledge or qualifications. For this purpose he may use not only the worker's statements and indications concerning his social status and family situation, but also any certificates or references from former employers or strictly objective data such as the time spent in his

trade, the time spent in his last post, the reasons for which he left it, the wage received or expected, the last firm or firms for which he worked, etc. In this connection it should be noted that the interpretation of a testimonial is one of the most delicate tasks for the placing officer. All modern legislation on contracts of employment provides that, except at the express request of the worker, such certificates must contain nothing but strictly objective statements as to the nature of the post he held and the period during which he was employed. These facts are very often of somewhat doubtful value from the point of view of finding other employment. In certain occupations again, such as domestic service, it is quite customary for everyone to give satisfactory testimonials, for reasons which can easily be understood. In certain countries, therefore, the employment exchanges no longer ask for such certificates to be produced. In Great Britain, for example, the exchanges do not usually ask for references from former employers unless an employer who has a vacancy definitely wishes to see references or if the production of references is customary in the occupation. Even then the worker's consent must be obtained.

In addition to these questions there may be notes on any vocational training courses attended by the worker, the age at which he left school and the standard of education reached. In some countries, such as Germany, the employment exchanges are actually permitted, if they do not obtain sufficient information from the applicant's replies, to submit him to a vocational test, provided that this test does not involve any serious technical difficulties.

Still other questions, varying with different occupations or the different vacancies available, may, although not necessarily noted in the register, be put to the applicant so as to enable the placing officer to have a more definite idea of his occupational qualifications.

It is important to know what sort of job the applicant desires and what remuneration he expects, even if these facts are not noted on the registration form. The mere fact of asking the worker what his preferences are may help to dissipate any doubts he has as to the impartiality of the public employment service and the knowledge gained may enable the exchange to give satisfaction both to the workers and to the employers concerned by preventing it from sending a worker to some job which would not satisfy him. It is also necessary to know whether the applicant would accept a post involving a change of residence and whether he would be prepared to emigrate. The employment exchanges must know

these facts if they have to collaborate with the public authorities in supervising internal or external migration. In Italy, where such collaboration has reached a very high stage of development, a special official is appointed in certain exchanges for registering unemployed persons who wish to change their residence.

Supervision of Unemployment Insurance

This group includes questions concerning the supervision of unemployed workers in receipt of benefit and the organisation of measures to deal with unemployment. There will be questions concerning the unemployment benefit paid to the worker, the relief work on which he has been employed, etc. These details naturally vary according to the insurance scheme and the connection which exists between the placing work and unemployment insurance. The question whether the worker does or does not belong to an unemployment fund may come under this head in countries where unemployment insurance is voluntary. This is the case in Spain, where the employment exchanges are expected to urge the workers to become members of the insurance funds. In other countries membership of a trade union may be taken into account when work is being found for an unemployed person. This is so, for example, in Italy, where members of Fascist trade unions and ex-service men are granted priority in placing when conditions of character and occupational skill are equal. In France, membership of a trade union is systematically left out of account. In Great Britain, the question is asked only if an unemployed person who is entitled to unemployment benefit wishes to apply for such benefit through his trade union. Other possible questions concern the military obligations of the applicant, the date at which he is due for military service, etc.

The various data of which a summary outline has been given are combined in different ways in the registration forms used in various countries. These forms are sometimes very simple, like that used in the Departmental Office of the Seine in France, which contains merely the name and age of the worker, his address, his nationality, his trade, his occupation in that trade, his references. Other useful points may also be included if thought desirable. On the other hand, the form used by the public employment exchange in Zurich, for example, contains a much greater amount of information. Apart from the usual personal details, it shows the worker's main trade, subsidiary trades, occupational ability, special occupation in the trade, special occupational skill, knowledge of

languages, vocational training and certificates, former employment, place and nature of last job, type of employment desired and place of work preferred, wage expected, date when free, length of period of unemployment or of present employment, situation as regards unemployment benefit, relief work on which employed, and certain indications of the worker's financial situation and readiness to move to another part of the country, to another country in Europe, or overseas.

In some countries special forms are adopted for more highly skilled occupations or groups of occupations. In Canada, for instance, in addition to the information required of ordinary workers (name, address, telephone number, age, civil status, race, country of origin, languages, wage required, readiness to migrate), skilled agricultural workers must supply the exchange with a number of other details as to their qualifications. The form on which their application is registered contains the following special headings: agriculture in general, cereals, stock rearing, dairy farming, fruit farming, truck farming, ploughing. Other information not specified in advance, but showing the worker's qualifications, may also be asked for. In Great Britain applications for employment are entered either on special forms, in the case of disabled ex-service men, young persons or unemployed persons not in receipt of benefit, or, in the case of workers entitled to unemployment benefit, on the same form as is used in applying for such benefit. As a rule, the registration forms do not vary for different occupations, but the placing officer can obtain a clear idea of the capabilities and special occupational skill of the worker from the fact that the following details must be supplied: (a) the occupation for which he is most qualified; (b) other trades in which he has experience; (c) his former employers and the length of time spent in various jobs during the past five years; (d) the type of work formerly performed; (e) experience gained.

Part of the form is used for other details which may affect the possibility of finding employment or the officer's opinion of the applicant's character and qualifications. Special data may also be required for certain categories of workers. In the case of domestic servants, for example, the placing officer will ask the applicant what wage she received in former posts, what clothes she possesses and any other necessary details (ability to cook, to wait at table, etc.).

In Germany, the various local exchanges are left to arrange their own registration forms and must in so doing take account of

the special conditions of the labour market in their particular areas. For certain groups, such as apprentices, domestic servants, agricultural workers, hotel staff and commercial employees, however, the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance has prepared a standard form used throughout the whole country. In the case of salaried employees the registration form must show whether the applicant was previously employed as a confidential clerk, manager, cashier, agency manager, commercial traveller, accountant, etc., and whether he ever worked in a bank, insurance institution, lawyer's or notary's office, municipal department or State or provincial Government department. The form also shows the applicant's ability as a typist or shorthand writer, his knowledge of languages, his age, civil status and any benefits which he may be receiving. The form to be filled up by domestic servants contains information concerning their ability to cook, iron, wait at table, sew, look after children, etc. Agricultural workers are asked whether they have been employed in cattle rearing, whether they have taken part in haymaking, harvesting, thrashing, etc.

The employment exchange can, as a rule, check the correctness of the information supplied by the workers by documents such as certificates from former employers, identity cards or insurance cards, which the workers are often required to produce when registering. In certain cases the exchanges may also apply to former employers for supplementary information as to the applicant's character and ability. This is done in Great Britain in the case of domestic servants and other persons required in a confidential capacity, such as cashiers, accountants, secretaries, etc. Subsequent applications by the same individual generally give the exchange a fuller knowledge of his real qualifications and also act as a check. In a well-organised exchange the registration forms contain much fuller information as to the occupational history of a person who has applied several times to the same exchange. An attempt to find employment, even if it fails, may provide the exchange with information which enables it to make more successful attempts in future or possibly to advise the applicant to change his occupation, particularly if his normal one is overcrowded. Thus, the more regular the applicant is in dealing with the same exchange the better will be the service which the exchange can give him.

With regard to the interview between the placing officer and the applicant, the most important point is for the latter to have complete confidence in the public employment service. This

confidence, which is the best guarantee for the employment exchange of wholehearted support from the workers, is also important from the technical point of view. The officer must be very fully informed as to the special conditions of the occupation with which he deals. He must be able to ask such questions as will give the maximum amount of information in the shortest possible time. He will be guided, in so doing, by the registration form, but he must be at liberty to ask other questions which he thinks appropriate. These questions, which must be perfectly clear, and may be prepared in writing in advance for each different skilled trade, must be of such a nature as to elicit brief and illuminating replies showing the qualifications of the applicant. It may be mentioned in passing that in some countries, such as Austria, certain exchanges are in a position to apply technical tests to the workers. Such a practice is at present conceivable only for certain very highly skilled trades. A final point which must not be neglected is the environment in which the interview between the officer and the applicant takes place. The method of registering applications across a counter in front of which there is a long queue of unemployed, or from behind a partition through which the applicant and officer can scarcely see each other, should be avoided wherever possible. It is desirable for the applicant and the officer to spend a certain time face to face and alone.

In the larger employment exchanges in Great Britain the applicant can obtain access to the officer's private office through a flap in the counter and the two may talk to each other without being disturbed, so that the officer can obtain more personal details concerning the applicant.

In some countries the applicant himself is responsible for filling up the form, while in others this task is left to the officer. Advocates of the first method assert that there are a number of advantages. It means a saving of time for the placing officer. In the second place, when the applicant has all the questions before him it is easier for him to see the connection between them and the necessity for them. He will also be more careful to give exact information when he has to sign the form. This method also serves to show the applicant's handwriting, which is important in certain occupations.

Advocates of the second method consider that the time required by an experienced officer in filling up the form is no longer than the time required to explain the purpose of the form to the applicant and check it once it has been filled up. This applies more especially to unskilled workers and persons applying to the exchange for the

first time. Again, if the officer is responsible for filling up the form, he must have a longer interview with the applicant and can therefore get a clearer impression of his ability and check his statements more carefully. It would appear that this technical problem should not be solved by adopting either of these practices exclusively for every country, every district or every occupation. For one country or for one occupation in which the percentage of illiterate, or more or less illiterate, workers is high, the placing officer must obviously fill up the application form. Office employees and non-manual workers, on the other hand, may be left to fill up the forms themselves. In very busy exchanges an intermediate practice is often adopted—the occupational details being filled in by the officer and the other details by the applicant or by a subordinate official who is present at the interview. The officer then receives the form partly filled up by his assistant and adds the other details after putting questions to the worker. In the method used in the Departmental Office of the Seine (France), and permitted also in British exchanges, the applicant fills up a form from which the agent prepares the final registration card.

Applications for employment are generally made on special forms. The system of registers, which would seem to be the older method, is still used in less important exchanges, such as those in small villages in Spain and in the mayors' offices in French communes. In such cases a register is better than a system of forms, the advantages of which are more fully appreciated in exchanges where a large number of placings are made. In small local exchanges the system of registers proves less cumbersome, simpler from the administrative point of view and therefore more economical. These advantages, however, are counterbalanced by the advantages of a system of forms in busy exchanges, because a handy system of files enables applications to be classified and to be found again more quickly when vacancies occur. It also helps to prevent double registration and to facilitate the notification of suitable jobs to applicants and the compilation of statistics of operations and of vacancies filled. These forms can be arranged in different drawers or boxes, each of which is usually reserved for a special occupational group or a special stage in the operation of finding employment. For this reason the system of forms has been preferred to the system of registers in the larger exchanges in most countries for many years back. The forms must be classified in such a way that as soon as any vacancy is notified to the exchange the agent can at once find the candidate most suited for the post in any occupation. As a rule, therefore, the forms are arranged by

occupations. In Great Britain, in order to facilitate the proceedings, the authorities have prepared an official list of occupations, in which every trade and every occupation in the trade has a definite index number. The complete list contains about 2,600 index numbers. For example, the index 001 represents the general trade of carpenter, while a carpenter who has specialised in any given branch or who has certain other qualifications (such as being a foreman) is indicated by the addition of one or more additional figures. Within each occupational sub-division forms are naturally arranged in alphabetical order, and the individual form for every applicant will be classified under the heading of every occupation for which he seems fit.

Generally speaking, the methods used for classifying the forms vary considerably from one country to another. There are practically always separate files for forms referring to applications pending or still valid and for applications which have already been met or which have not been renewed within a specified period. The period during which a form remains valid also varies in different countries according to the circumstances of the labour market. In the United States and in Canada the period is from fifteen days to a month. In Great Britain it is a week, or a fortnight in the case of applications submitted by letter.

Some exchanges have a reference file with the names of applicants, from which the placing officer can immediately discover in what particular file any original form is to be found. When an applicant is qualified for more than one occupation, some exchanges prepare a duplicate of the original form and classify it in the same way as the original. In this case it is important, from the point of view of statistics, to mark clearly on the original form the existence of a duplicate.

The forms used for registration must have room for an outline of all the information which might be of value to the exchange in carrying out its duties, including the preparation of statistics of the labour market. In some countries, for instance in Germany, a special system of forms has been applied for some years back. At the top of the form there is a row of numbers referring to the chief occupational qualifications and other important items of information concerning the applicant. A special card for each occupation, or each group of occupations, gives the key to these numbers. By marking the appropriate number at the head of the form the placing officer immediately notes the special qualifications of every applicant. By using different-coloured pencils he can also show the degree of experience in any particular subject. These cards, in-

cluding the key card, are placed in a drawer, leaning slightly backwards, so that the agent can see at a glance what are the qualifications of the various registered applicants and thus find the person most qualified to fill any given post.

Since speed is important, if not essential, in the work of finding employment, the forms used must facilitate as far as possible the work of all the officials concerned. For this purpose, and for simplicity in classification, different colours have been adopted in many countries for workers of the two sexes. If applicants for employment in a busy exchange are asked a great number of questions, the forms must be such as to contain the maximum amount of information in the smallest possible space. As a general rule, part of the form, sometimes the back, contains a list of the jobs notified to or obtained by the applicant, with the date and the name and address of the employer. Apart from its value for statistical purposes, this precaution saves the exchange from the necessity of filling up a new form every time the same applicant returns. In Great Britain a new form is used only if the worker has had fresh occupational experience since the original form was filled up. Another part of the form, generally the front, has different sections for the questions to be asked of the applicant and for notes by the exchange (file number, officer's name, date of registration, etc.). A special column exists for details not covered under the other headings and, more particularly, for the officer's opinion of the applicant's qualifications. The arrangement of the different headings on the form is by no means unimportant, and should be such as to enable the form to be classified or to be found again later as rapidly as possible. For this purpose the upper part of the form should clearly show either the applicant's name or his occupational group, or the file number or registration number, according to the method of classification used. The various headings are generally so arranged that most space is left for information which may vary greatly in different individual cases or which may have to be given in considerable detail, such as specialisation or special occupational experience or ability. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that in some countries, such as Italy, the employment exchanges issue a certificate of registration to every applicant.

CO-ORDINATION OF APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT AND VACANCIES

Once the applications for employment and vacancies have been registered and classified they must be co-ordinated; that is to

say, unemployed workers or workers who wish to change their employment must be brought into touch with employers in search of workers. The placing operation is not complete until the applicant who has been brought into touch with an employer by the exchange has actually been engaged. To send a worker to an employer is merely a tentative operation which must immediately be repeated in other directions if it fails. The real criterion of the efficiency of the exchanges is the proportion of vacancies actually filled to the total number of operations attempted.

From the point of view of the economic system as a whole, and from the point of view of the employers' and workers' interests, the positions obtained for the workers should be as permanent as possible. Thus the first consideration in co-ordinating vacancies and applications must be scrupulous objectivity. The placing officer must, above all, keep in mind the qualifications of the candidate, that is, all the factors which make him suitable or otherwise for any given post. The practice of selecting workers according to their order of registration has generally been dropped, for it meant that the less capable workers who are most frequently dismissed from their employment automatically returned to the top of the list. In the case of vacancies, the order of registration is largely followed, but is subordinated to the urgency of the employer's requirements or other circumstances, such as superior conditions of employment.

For workers with equal qualifications, the choice made by the exchange may be determined by a number of other factors which can hardly be classified in order of importance, as is brought out in the instructions issued by the Executive of the German Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.¹ In many countries ex-service men and disabled men enjoy priority. In *Italy*, for example, the order of preference in finding employment, as laid down by the Labour Charter and the Regulations contained in Royal Decree No. 1003 of 29 March 1928 concerning the National Organisation of Labour Supply and Demand, includes ex-service men, who are granted priority when conditions of character and occupational ability are equal. With regard to disabled men, an Act of 29 August 1921 fixed the proportion of such men who had to be engaged; they must be found employment through the district sections of the National Association of Disabled Men. Such workers may, however, be registered

¹ *Richtlinien für die Durchführung der Arbeitsvermittlung in den Arbeitsämtern*, Berlin, June 1932.

as unemployed by the employment exchanges and engaged through them, but in such cases the exchanges must notify the district sections mentioned above of all operations effected by them.¹ In *Germany*, other things being equal, the available posts are granted to those who are most urgently in need of them. The factors taken into account include the period of unemployment, the unemployment benefit received, other sources of income, sickness of any member of the family, nationality, age, etc. Another point taken into consideration is the distance between the worker's home and the workplace. In the case of young workers, family conditions are also taken into account. These factors may also play a certain part in other countries, but they are not usually mentioned in the regulations.

In most countries the principle of objectivity is interpreted as meaning that no account should be taken of membership or otherwise of a trade union.

In the event of a strike or lock-out the employment exchanges must be strictly neutral. But the conception of neutrality is not exactly the same in every country. In most cases the employment exchanges are merely bound to inform applicants that there is a dispute in the undertaking in question. In *Spain* this information is conveyed to the applicants by notices in the employment exchanges. In *France* and in *Switzerland* the precautions taken to ensure the neutrality of the employment exchange go farther, since notices are posted up and, in addition, the placing officers must give an individual warning to every unemployed person to whom they offer a post in an undertaking in which a strike or lock-out exists. This is also the rule followed in *Germany*, where, in addition, employers must inform the competent public employment exchange in writing of the beginning and end of any strike or lock-out affecting their undertaking. When workers are unemployed on account of a dispute and seek employment through the public exchanges they are treated in exactly the same way as other workers. In *Czechoslovakia* the applicant is obliged to make a statement in writing to the effect that the placing officer has informed him of the dispute in the undertaking where he has accepted employment. In *Great Britain*, the placing officers must provide applicants with all available information concerning a labour dispute. They must also investigate the source of their information, but they accept no responsibility for it. Any employer who engages workers through the public employment

¹ Circular of the Ministry of Corporations, No. 446-39 of 14 Jan. 1932.

service on behalf of another employer in whose undertaking there is a strike may be prosecuted if he fails to inform the exchange of the fact.

In other countries neutrality is taken to mean that the public employment exchanges suspend their services in the event of a dispute. This is so, for example, in *Denmark* and the *Netherlands*, where, whenever a strike or lock-out is reported by any occupational organisation concerned, the employment exchanges recognised by the Government must refrain from sending workers to the undertakings affected until the dispute has come to an end or has been declared illegal. In *Poland*, the rule followed is practically the same; the employment exchanges may not send applicants to an employer in whose undertaking a strike or a lock-out exists. Nevertheless, requests for workers from such an undertaking are posted up in the premises of the employment exchange, attention being drawn to the fact that a strike or a lock-out is in progress.

The system of co-ordinating applications and vacancies must aim at speeding up placing operations while keeping a check on results. The success of these operations depends on the general organisation of the exchanges, their occupational specialisation and the knowledge which the officials have of the special conditions in the occupations with which they deal.

When a vacancy is notified to the employment exchange, the competent official immediately looks through the file of registered applicants for the person or persons who most completely satisfy the required conditions. Qualified applicants for the particular post may at the moment be in the exchange. Quite apart from the necessity of proving unemployment for insurance purposes, many countries, such as *Great Britain*, request certain applicants to appear regularly at the exchange. In *Germany* this practice is followed in the case of workers who are often required urgently, such as dockers, charwomen and extra café or restaurant waiters. If the worker is in the exchange the placing officer immediately gives him a card to the employer. In certain countries, as in *Poland*, it is the rule that only one worker should be sent to an employer at any one time unless a larger number are expressly asked for. In *Germany* and other countries the placing officer sends more workers than are asked for by the employer, so as to give the latter a certain choice. If no suitable applicant is to be found in the exchange one is sent for, the means adopted varying according to the urgency of the case. The exchange may use the post, telegraph or telephone service. The communication merely informs the worker that he must report to the exchange within a

given time in connection with his application for employment, failing which the application will lapse. In the case of casual workers who are frequently placed in employment by the exchange, or, as in *Great Britain*, in cases of extreme urgency, particulars of a vacancy or a card to give to the employer may be sent directly to the applicant by the exchange. In other circumstances again, the worker may not be summoned to the exchange at all. In *Germany*, for example, in the case of highly specialised jobs, the employment exchange, before notifying the worker, informs the employer of the qualifications of the applicant or applicants. This may even be done personally by an official of the exchange who visits the employer. The methods adopted by the exchanges should have considerable adaptability to meet varying circumstances and to give the best possible results in every particular case.

When a worker has been summoned to the exchange the placing officer gives him a card to hand to the employer. The same card serves to show the results of the placing operation. It is in the form of a postcard bearing the address of the exchange, to which it should be returned with particulars as to the result. It is generally the employer who has to fill up this card. Practically always the card bears the question: Has the applicant been accepted? Sometimes (*France, United States*) the employer is also asked whether he desires other workers, or (*Great Britain*) the date at which the worker, if engaged, must begin work; this last question may be particularly important in connection with unemployment insurance. In other cases the wage agreed to, or the duration of the contract of employment, must be mentioned (*Spain*). In some forms (*Germany*) space is left for remarks by the employer as to the reasons for which he refused the applicant, or further details concerning the post to be filled. The vacancy may, in the meantime, have been filled by another worker, in which case the employer is sometimes expected to answer the question: If the vacancy is already filled, by whom?

The British employment exchanges and the Departmental Office of the Seine prefer to be notified of the result of the operation both by the employer and by the worker. The latter is therefore given two reply postcards. In *Great Britain* the applicant receives this card, known as the registration card, as soon as he registers, and he must return it to the exchange as soon as he ceases to be unemployed, irrespective of the method by which he finds employment. It constitutes a proof that the worker is registered with the exchange and indicates the rules which he

must follow in his dealings with the exchange, such as notification of any change of address. It can never take the place of the card which he must hand to the employer. In *France*, many workers registered with the Departmental Office of the Seine failed, in spite of repeated warnings, to inform the exchange of the result of their applications. It was therefore decided to attach to the yellow card, which the worker had to submit to his employer, a pink slip stating that the worker, whether accepted or not, must immediately return the yellow card to the exchange, indicating the result of his application. The percentage of cards not returned has now decreased considerably.

No matter what procedure be adopted for the filling up and return of these cards, the essential point is that they should reach the exchange. Consequently they should not require a postage stamp—a practice already adopted in most countries with developed systems of public employment services.

The card given to the applicant to hand to his employer generally contains merely the name of the applicant and of the employer, and the numbers of their respective files or other notes to facilitate registration; the applicant's occupation may also be mentioned. On the other hand, his address is never given except in certain cases, such as for domestic servants in *Great Britain*, or other categories of workers about whom the employer may legitimately wish to have more detailed or more personal information and to check their references.

In co-ordinating applications and vacancies the placing officer must sometimes act as an adviser, particularly in the case of a young person who has not sufficient experience to know whether the vacancy will really suit him. He may urge a worker to accept a post or draw his attention to certain conditions which may prove unsatisfactory for him.¹ The employment exchange may also urge the employer to alter certain conditions of his offer or to accept a certain applicant selected by the exchange. In *Germany*, in some special cases, such as that of disabled men, an official of the exchange may actually accompany the applicant to the employer with a view to having him accepted.

The card to be shown to the employer should be handed confidentially to the applicant, as is recommended in *Germany* by the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. It may happen, and it has sometimes happened,

¹ This last point has been noted in *Germany*, for example, in connection with the placing of commercial travellers

that applicants waiting in the exchange get to know of a vacancy not intended for them and succeed in obtaining the post in place of an applicant selected by the exchange.

Certain rules are also required for the registration of the results of placing operations. When the applicant's card is given to him, the placing officer immediately registers the fact on the applicant's registration card and the employer's order card. On the former he indicates the date, the name of the employer or firm and the serial number of the employer's card. On the latter he enters the name or names of the applicants sent to the employer, the date, and in certain exchanges, the serial number of the applicant's card. When an applicant is sent, some exchanges withdraw both the employer's and the worker's cards from the classifying cabinet and place them either in two different cabinets, or, as is done in the Departmental Office of the Seine, in *France*, in a single cabinet marked "Operations Pending." In this way it is easy to find the cards of applicants and employers who have been brought into touch with each other until such time as the result is known. In the *British* exchanges, on the other hand, cards are not withdrawn until they have lapsed or until the result of the operation is known. If, as quite frequently happens, the employer or the worker or both fail to return the reply cards within a few days, the exchange communicates with them and asks to be informed of the result of the interview. For this purpose it may use the telephone or a circular letter. In most cases the information is asked for from the employer. The circular sent to him is of a more or less standard type and does not generally require a postage stamp. It contains the names of the applicant or applicants, and the employer is required to strike out the names of those whom he accepted. He is also asked to state whether he requires other workers.

The reply cards or circular letters are sorted out when they reach the exchange. If the post has been filled, the fact is noted on the employer's and the applicant's cards, which are then classified in a special cabinet for operations which have been concluded. If there were vacancies for several workers and only one person was engaged, then it is only the card of that applicant which is considered to have lapsed, the employer's card being returned to its former place. The results may be registered on both cards by initials—such as P. and N.P. (placed and not placed)—or by means of a code. The code employed by the exchange of *New York* has various symbols for indicating : (a) worker placed ; (b) placed in temporary employment ; (c) not engaged for reasons for which the applicant was not responsible ; (d) applicant sent

to employer but failed to appear ; (e) applicant engaged but failed to turn up for work. This last point is important, for the operation must not be shown in the statistics of the exchange unless the worker actually fills the post to which he was sent. In *Great Britain* the letter X indicates that the applicant has been placed in employment for the first time, Y that he has been placed several times in the course of the statistical year, and Z that he is a young person placed in employment for the first time since leaving school. In *Germany*, if an applicant is refused by the employer, the reason for the refusal must be mentioned in his file. In addition, most exchanges register either the date on which the worker was engaged or the date on which his engagement was notified and the channel through which the information was obtained (post, telephone, etc.).

When a job has been found for the applicant and a vacancy has been filled, the operation is generally considered as being completed. Some employment services go farther, however, and try to discover what guarantee there is of stability of employment. This is very important in the case of some workers, such as young persons, and may also be extended to all persons placed in employment, as is recommended in the *German* regulations.¹ It enables the exchanges to extend their relationships with employers and with workers, to appreciate more fully the occupational requirements of both parties, and to assist if necessary in settling any disputes between them.

§ 5.—Staff

The staffing of the employment exchanges is clearly a matter of very great importance. Exchange officials have very responsible duties to perform and must be highly qualified for the particular work they have to do. They must be men and women of ability and intelligence able to deal sympathetically and efficiently with employers and with applicants for employment, and, as pointed out elsewhere in this report, the work requires judgment, a feeling of responsibility and self-discipline. Moreover, speed is essential if the employment exchanges are to give satisfactory service.

The methods of recruiting and the qualifications required differ a good deal in the different countries. In some cases emphasis is laid on previous experience in the trades with which the placing official will have to deal, in others on previous service with a trade

¹ *Richlinien für die Durchführung der Arbeitsvermittlung in den Arbeitsämtern*, Berlin, June 1932.

union or an employers' organisation, in others again on appointment on ordinary Civil Service conditions, the necessary experience being obtained in the Service itself.

In *Germany* the technical staff of the employment exchanges is appointed by the manager of the State employment office on the proposal of the joint administrative committee of each exchange. Some of the placing officers were officials and employees of the former municipal exchanges who were taken over by the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance at the time it was set up in 1927. Others have obtained their professional experience during their administrative career, while others again had previously been employed in various capacities in the occupations with which they later had to deal from a placing point of view. The staff of the special sections engaged at a later date was largely recruited from among those who had been engaged in the occupations with which they were intended to deal. Thus, for instance, the 237 agricultural placing officers engaged in 1928 and 1929 with a view to developing agricultural placings were all either former estate employees or agricultural workers or employers.

The Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance gives special attention to the technical training of its staff. A series of measures have been adopted for this purpose. They were co-ordinated by general regulations of 21 April 1932 which provided among other things that the staff of each employment exchange should be called together periodically by the manager or his assistant to discuss all questions of interest to the service, and that training courses of four to eight weeks' duration should be organised for the different technical groups either simultaneously or successively according to the size of the exchange. These courses, which are essentially technical and which generally take the form of seminaries, bear on all problems relating to the administration of unemployment insurance, placing, vocational guidance, statistics, administrative control, etc. With the consent of the State employment office courses may be organised for the staffs of several exchanges at the same time.

The State employment offices also organise courses of two to four days' duration bearing on certain technical problems, such as, for example, the methods of placing certain special categories of workers. In 1931 87 courses of this type were organised by the State employment offices and were attended by 2,470 officials and employees, of whom 511 were managers or assistant managers of exchanges, 566 were unemployment insurance officers, 330 placing officers,

and 369 administrative or control officers. It is, moreover, usual for the officials of exchanges which are somewhat less developed than others from a technical point of view to be employed for several weeks in model exchanges. In addition the State employment offices send training officers to the local exchange in which the methods of work need to be improved. Finally, the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance gives financial encouragement to the participation of the staff in conferences or practical work organised outside the Institution by bodies such as the Academies of Administration.

In *Great Britain* the permanent staff consists entirely of members of the British Civil Service, recruited for the most part in the same way as other members of that Service. The work varies so much in extent, however, especially when the unemployment insurance side is taken into account, that a large number of temporary officials have to be engaged as well. In the early days of the exchanges a large number of ex-trade union officials were appointed as managers and this has certain advantages, because it facilitates relations with the trade unions. The tendency now, however, is almost entirely to rely on Civil Service appointments and this system is said to give very satisfactory results.

In *Italy* the employment exchanges in each province must have their headquarters in the offices of the trade unions, as was confirmed once more by the head of the Government at a meeting of the National Council of Corporations in January 1933. The officials must be chosen from among the leaders of the trade unions and must be accepted by the joint administrative committee attached to the exchange. This rule, which was already referred to in the guiding principles for the work of the employment exchanges laid down by the Fascist Grand Council on 16 December 1927, was recently confirmed at the meeting of the National Council of Corporations referred to above. On the other hand, the Ministry of Corporations has on several occasions drawn the attention of the presidents of employment exchanges and of the administrative committees to the importance of taking whatever steps may be necessary against any officials of the employment exchanges who prove not to have the qualifications required. According to the most recent rulings on the subject, the officials of employment exchanges are recognised as having the status of Civil Servants.

In *Japan* the staff of local public employment exchanges is chosen from among municipal officials, while positions in the central and divisional exchanges require Civil Service qualifications.

In the *United States* staffing varies from State to State. In an increasing number of cases the staffs of the State and municipal exchanges are subject to Civil Service requirements (this was true in eleven States in 1924), although in some of these the State superintendent is not included in this rule. In the other States the members of the staff are subject to appointment, usually by the chief of the Department to which they are responsible. The staff of the Federal Employment Service is appointed by the Secretary of Labour without regard to the Civil List laws.

CHAPTER II

SPECIALISATION BY OCCUPATION AND SEX

§ I.—General Principles

THE number of vacancies filled is only one indication of the degree of efficiency of a public employment service ; the final judgment on its value must depend chiefly on the quality of its work and the extent to which it succeeds in placing the right man in the right job. Although in certain exceptional circumstances, such as a particularly acute slump, with serious social consequences, account may have to be taken not only of the qualifications of the applicant but also of other factors, such as the time spent out of employment or the worker's family situation, his occupational skill must always remain the decisive criterion in finding employment for him. This means that the placing officer must be able to judge of the technical skill required in the job and the occupational ability of the candidates.

So long as a public employment exchange does not cover more than two or three occupational groups, a single official may be able to deal efficiently with all the workers who apply for jobs, particularly as at that elementary stage in the development of the exchange those who apply generally belong to the less skilled grades of workers. When the exchange extends its activities, however, to a greater variety of occupations, and more particularly to skilled workers, it becomes essential for the officer to specialise. This specialisation may first of all take the form of a division of labour behind the counter, without involving any other change in the administrative organisation of the exchange. It is natural for such a division of labour to take place in any employment exchange where a number of officials are at work.

It is only a step from this division of labour among the different officials to the creation of real specialised sections, each with a specialised staff giving its whole time to the placing of workers in a particular occupational group. The question is when the step should be taken. Apart from statutory, administrative or financial considerations which may influence the decision of the authorities, the creation of a special occupational section may with advantage be considered when the volume of placing operations in any given occupation has become sufficient to provide full-time employment

for the officials who have specialised in that occupation. But the creation of special sections has not always been due to an actual increase in the volume of the operations in any given occupation. Very often, as, for example, in Germany and in the Netherlands, special occupational sections were created in the public exchanges by the incorporation of existing joint occupational agencies¹ in the public employment system ; the employers and workers concerned found it preferable to transfer their agencies to the public exchanges, because the latter offered greater guarantees of security. As a general rule, the creation of special sections depends on the number of occupations covered by the exchange, the number of vacancies filled in the various occupational groups, and the requirements of the district or local labour market. The only rule which could be laid down in this connection would be that great latitude should be left to the authorities of local exchanges to adapt the structure of their exchanges to the special needs of the area which they serve.

In view of the diversity of local conditions, it would be impossible to lay down strict rules for the actual organisation of these special sections. It must suffice here to point out a few very general principles.

One of these principles is that some line of demarcation must be drawn between the field of activity of each occupational section and the other occupational sections as well as between each section and the general employment exchange activity. While certain special sections may occasionally be reserved for a homogeneous occupational group, it is also quite common for sections to cover a number of allied occupations, or even occupations which have very little connection with one another. Even in the latter case, the establishment of a special section may help to raise the level of technical efficiency of the exchange, since it permits those in charge to concentrate their attention on a smaller number of trades. The essential point is to define clearly the field of activity of each section. The employer then knows that the occupational section will provide him with workers having the desired qualifications, and the worker can be certain that the jobs offered him from among the vacancies open at the time of his application will be those which correspond most closely to his personal qualifications.

The special sections set up within employment exchanges are not always occupational sections in the strict sense of the term, classifying the workers solely according to their occupation. They

¹ Administered jointly by employers and workers.

may be grouped by industries, each one dealing with the workers employed in a given industry, and therefore belonging in some cases to a great variety of occupations.

There is no doubt that specialisation by industry, like occupational specialisation, marks a step forward from non-specialised placing work, but although the institution of industrial sections has often brought exchanges to a very high level of efficiency, the system is frequently alleged to hamper the mobility of labour by keeping workers waiting too long for jobs in one particular industry. On the other hand, the system of occupational sections in the strict sense, each of which covers a number of industries, facilitates the transfer of workers from one industry to another.

On the other hand, it is asserted, in support of specialisation by industry, that the nominal "occupation" of a worker sometimes gives but a very vague idea of his real capacity, and that account must be taken of the experience which the worker may have had in any given industry; that the work of a mechanic in a garage, for example, is very different from that of a mechanic in a railway-engine shop. This objection loses some of its force when it is remembered that a well-organised occupational section will certainly note in the applicant's file any special experience which he may have had in a particular industry.

Every failure to place an applicant in a given job involves a loss of time and money both for the employer and for the worker. The failure is particularly serious when the worker has been sent to a post away from his place of residence and has been obliged to pay the cost of removal and setting up house elsewhere. Whenever a vacancy is filled from another district, there must be collaboration between the two employment exchanges concerned, and this collaboration will be all the more effective if the two occupational sections adopt the same criteria for determining the qualifications required.

While it is true that the organisation of employment exchanges must to a great extent depend on the special requirements of the districts which they serve, it is one of the advantages of a system of exchanges organised on a national basis that it simplifies the functional adjustments required in local placing work. Nor is that the only advantage. The number of workers belonging to any given occupational group may not be sufficiently high in the area of one exchange to justify the creation of a special section in that exchange, but such a special section may be quite justified if set up for several exchange areas jointly. When the employment exchanges are purely local bodies financed by the local authorities,

the establishment of joint sections is often hindered by financial and administrative difficulties, which disappear in a national system financed on a national basis.

A glance at the historical development of public employment exchanges shows that from the outset the rule has been to deal with men and women separately, although originally, indeed, this was merely a police regulation. Men and women were kept separate either by having different waiting-rooms for the two sexes or simply by fixing different hours of attendance. Incidentally, the application of this rule was likely to lead to a rudimentary form of specialisation by occupation : in an employment exchange the activities of which are still restricted to domestic servants and labourers, the two sexes generally fall automatically into two occupational groups. As there are still many occupations in which only one sex is employed, the practice of separate placing arrangements for men and for women coincides in many cases with specialisation by occupational groups.

At the present stage of development of public employment services, however, where the work of the exchanges extends to a large number of occupational groups, each containing workers of both sexes, the question of specialisation by sex takes on a different aspect.

The operation of finding employment is more or less a matter of tabulation in the case of the more elementary occupational groups, but it becomes a highly individualised operation for the more skilled categories of workers. The placing officer must then take account not only of the technical requirements of the post to be filled, but also of the personal characteristics of the applicant. In other words, the success of the operation sometimes depends to a large extent on moral and psychological factors which the officer must be able to gauge. When it is remembered that he has often to act as an adviser, the reason for specialisation by sex and for the demand that women should be interviewed by women officers, better able to understand the psychology of the woman applicant, will be more fully appreciated.

This does not necessarily mean that there should be perfect symmetry within each employment exchange, and that not only the general service but also each occupational section should be divided into separate subsections for men and for women. To make such a suggestion would be to ignore the variety of conditions with which public employment exchanges have to deal. It overlooks, for example, the fact that the public employment exchange, like every other branch of public administration, must try to achieve

optimum results with a minimum of expense. There can be no doubt that specialisation by sex tends to increase the technical efficiency of the work, and when the women applicants in any occupational group become sufficiently numerous, it is desirable to have division by sex.

But although it is now generally admitted that specialisation by sex is desirable, it will be realised that financial, or sometimes even technical, considerations have so far prevented the complete application of the principle in a number of cases.

The progress made in the development of public employment exchanges during the last few decades has been marked by a steady development of occupational specialisation. It may even be said that in many cases it is only as a result of extensive specialisation by occupations that the public exchanges have been able to extend their sphere of activity. A description of the present situation as regards specialisation by occupations in the public employment systems of every country would involve considerable repetition, and would be only of slight interest in elucidating the general problem of specialisation. It will suffice, therefore, to limit the description to a small number of countries.

In *Austria*, when unemployment insurance was instituted in 1920, there were already a certain number of public employment exchanges set up by the communes. These exchanges, however, were far from constituting the complete network of exchanges on which an unemployment insurance system must necessarily be based if a check is to be kept on all those in receipt of benefit. The proposal was therefore made to obtain the collaboration of private employment agencies established by employers, by workers or by joint action between the two. Such exchanges existed for a large number of occupations, more especially in Vienna.

The private agencies were asked to agree to their transformation into joint agencies and to accept the supervision of the district industrial commissions, which are bodies corporate containing representatives of employers and workers and which play an important part in the general administration of unemployment insurance and placing.

As a result of the strenuous efforts of these district industrial commissions and the financial facilities for the covering of expenses granted by the Unemployment Insurance Act to private agencies which accepted the prescribed conditions, the number of private agencies which were thus incorporated in the public employment system under the name of "unemployment offices" has increased steadily.

It is those joint private agencies transformed into public exchanges that are now responsible in Austria for the placing of skilled workers, who are classified by occupational groups. The communal exchanges deal almost entirely with unskilled labour, although the special needs of the area served by any exchange may lead it to have a more or less marked occupational character.

In Vienna, the three existing municipal exchanges deal solely with unskilled labour. For skilled workers there are some fifteen joint exchanges: for salaried employees; the building trade; textile, clothing and hat making (with a special exchange for members of Christian trade unions in these trades); the chemical industry; the food and drink trades (with a special exchange for members of Christian trade unions); hairdressers; printing and paper making; the wood and allied industries; hotel and catering staff; butchers; metal workers; boot makers and leather workers.

Outside Vienna four occupational sections exist for the placing of café and restaurant staff. These have been set up in Urfuhr, Graz, Innsbrück and Klagenfurt.

In *France* the Departmental Office of the Seine is, judged by the number of vacancies filled, the most important public employment exchange. It was set up in 1915 and has from the beginning endeavoured to specialise its services by occupations, with the collaboration wherever possible of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, acting through joint committees. At the end of the war it had, in addition to its general service, nine special sections dealing respectively with labourers, domestic servants, office boys, messengers and shop boys, metal workers, women munition workers, clothing workers, restaurant and coffee house employees and hairdressers. The last three sections had joint committees. At the end of 1931 there were no fewer than fourteen special sections with joint committees: for the clothing trades, restaurant and café employees, hairdressers, paper and allied industries, building trades, salaried employees and technical workers, metal, aeroplane and electrical trades, bakers and confectioners, theatrical artistes, furnishing trades, chemists and druggists, hospital orderlies and nurses, workers in hides and skins, dental mechanics. There were also seven services with no joint committees: general service; service for labourers, domestic staff, shop boys and messengers, butchers, pork butchers and grocers. It is generally agreed that the remarkable vitality of this Office is largely due to the very extensive specialisation of its services by occupations.

While it is true that in other parts of the country the progress made in this direction is very uneven, it must be remembered that it is only since 1925 that public employment exchanges have had a solid legal basis. The Act of 2 February 1925 finally made it compulsory for municipal employment exchanges to be set up in every commune of more than 10,000 inhabitants. This prescription existed in sections 79 to 90 of the Labour Code of 1904, but no provision was made in that Code for putting it into effect. Consequently, the communal offices frequently existed only on paper. The 1925 Act also made it compulsory to establish a Departmental office in every Department, with wide powers of supervision over the communal offices. As a result, the communal offices have, in a number of cases, been transformed into occupational sections of the Departmental office to which they are attached.

Many of the Departmental offices, whether established by administrative decision before 1925 or by law after that date, have now occupational sections. These are particularly numerous in the offices in Strasburg, Marseilles, Toulouse and Rouen.

The offices in maritime Departments have organised special sections in the principal ports for the placing of dockers and seamen. In 1930 there were nine special sections for dockers and ten for seamen.

While the communal offices in many districts are definitely agricultural, that being the chief industry of the area, a number of the Departmental offices have also organised special sections for agriculture. There were seven of these in existence in 1930.

Above the Departmental offices and communal exchanges there are seven divisional offices, as well as a central office directly attached to the Ministry of Labour. Their task is to act as clearing-houses for their districts and for the whole country respectively, and they are also specialised. For example, the Paris Divisional Office, which acts as a clearing-house between the Departmental Office of the Seine and the neighbouring Departmental offices, has an agricultural clearing-house and an industrial clearing-house. There is also a clearing-house for Civil Servants, since the Paris Divisional Office has been given the special task of providing the necessary subordinate staff for public administrative departments. A very special service covering a variety of occupational groups is the Foreign Labour Service¹, also attached to the Ministry of Labour. It is responsible for recruiting foreign workers

¹ In virtue of the Decree of 26 January 1933, the Foreign Labour Service and the Central National Labour Office have been amalgamated in a single service entitled the Central Labour Service.

for industry and trade, for bringing them into France, and to some extent also for their repatriation if necessary. The operations of bringing these workers and finding employment for them are carried out by the frontier services of the Ministry of Labour (and of the Ministry of Agriculture in the case of agricultural workers) working in collaboration with a number of frontier posts or with the public employment exchanges. The Foreign Labour Service also deals with the placing of foreign workers already resident in the country. For this purpose it has a special office in Paris which deals with a large number of different occupations.

In *Germany*, even before the war, public employment exchanges had developed considerably, at least as regards numbers. There were no less than 500 communal exchanges in 1913. This was largely due to the action taken by the central authorities before 1900 and continued more or less steadily since that date to compel the municipalities to set up free employment exchanges. But the internal organisation of these exchanges, particularly as regards occupational specialisation, did not always develop so rapidly as the number of offices, for the local authorities often took little interest in the matter. The field of activity of the communal exchanges was usually limited to a few groups of unskilled workers, day labourers, domestic servants, etc., skilled workers and salaried employees finding employment through employers', trade union or joint agencies, which had an advantage over public exchanges in that they were specialised by occupations. In some of the larger towns, however, the public exchanges soon succeeded in setting up special occupational sections with the co-operation of the employers and workers concerned. As early as 1905, for instance, the Berlin exchange had, in addition to its general service, special sections for house painters, locksmiths, plumbers, varnish makers, glove makers, upholsterers, bookbinders, plasterers, slaters, enginemen and firemen, bakers, leather workers, porters and lift boys. It is interesting to note that all these occupational groups had voluntarily, one after the other, entrusted their placing work to the public employment exchange. One may conclude that just as the functional difficulties inherent in the unilateral organisation of placing paved the way for the establishment of joint exchanges, so these joint exchanges are finally induced to merge into the public employment system, which offers fuller guarantees of satisfactory working.

It was in 1922 that the Federal Employment Exchanges Act of 22 July first established a uniform legal basis for the specialisation of public placing by occupations. Section 32 of the Act

provided that occupational sections and sections for salaried employees should be organised in public employment exchanges wherever required, and that, subject to the consent of the State employment office, a special section might be organised for the district covered by two or more public employment exchanges ; related industrial groups might be provided for by a single section. The statutory trade representative bodies and economic associations of employers and workers in the district were entitled to decide whether the organisation of a special section was required. In default of such a decision, or in the event of their failing to agree, the special committee for the trade concerned, or failing it the Executive Committee, of the State Employment Office could decide, after consultation with the public employment exchanges concerned. Section 33 of the Act provided that a trade committee should be constituted for each occupational section or salaried employees' section, while in section 36 it was stated that a salaried employees' section should be set up under the Central Office.

The Act of 16 July 1927 concerning employment exchanges and unemployment insurance, which replaced the Act of 22 July 1922, also stipulated that occupational sections and salaried employees' sections with special joint committees could be set up under the local exchanges, the State Employment Offices and the Federal Institution in the same way as under the 1922 Act. It also prescribed the immediate establishment under the Federal Institution of a special section for agriculture and forestry in addition to the existing section for salaried employees.

In virtue of the powers granted by the Act, the competent authorities set up a number of special sections. For example, the Executive of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance decided to establish under the Federal Board a third occupational section for the staffs of hotels, cafés and restaurants, and authorised the establishment in connection with all the State employment offices of special sections for agriculture and forestry, with joint committees. An exception was made for the three offices of East Prussia, Pomerania and Bavaria, in which the State employment offices were already agricultural in character, with an adequate number of representatives of agriculture on the managing committees.

Since 1929, three of the State employment offices have had special sections for miners, two have sections for hotels and restaurants, two for building workers and one for workers in turf pits. But it is chiefly the local exchanges which, with the per-

mission of the committees of management of the State employment offices, have set up special sections with joint committees for a great variety of occupational groups. To take a single example, the Leipzig exchange at the end of 1921 had sixteen occupational sections with joint committees: for salaried employees, building workers, clothing workers, factory workers, hairdressers, hotel and restaurant staff, printers, transport workers, domestic servants, wood workers, hospital orderlies and nurses, agricultural labourers, musicians, metal workers, workers in the food and drink trades and in the textile industry.

In recent years the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance has directed its efforts more especially towards improving the organisation of the agricultural exchanges and the placing of salaried employees. Specialisation for other occupations has been left largely to the initiative of the State and local exchanges.

With regard to agricultural work, sections have been established in connection with a number of local exchanges, and the staff of specialised placing officers for this industry has increased considerably, there being 435 at the end of 1929. At the same date there were 61 sections for salaried employees, with 441 specialised officers. On the fringe, so to speak, of the general system of public employment exchanges, but nevertheless incorporated in it, are the special exchanges set up in ports for the use of dockers and seamen, as well as three comparatively independent bodies under the supervision of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance: the *Parenna* (*Paritätischer Engagementsnachweis*), responsible for finding employment for variety and circus artistes; the exchange for theatrical artistes (*Paritätischer Stellennachweis der Bühnengehörigen*) and the exchange for chorus artistes and dancers (*Paritätischer Stellenachweis für Chor und Tanz*). All the above-mentioned special exchanges and sections have special joint committees for the occupations concerned.

In *Great Britain* all the public employment exchanges have separate sections for men and for women. They also have special sections for young persons, except in places where the placing and vocational guidance of young persons is carried out by the local education authorities under the Education Act of 1921.

In recent years the Ministry of Labour has encouraged the subdivision of public employment exchanges on an occupational basis with a view to enabling the staff to acquire more detailed knowledge of the requirements of particular trades and industries. This

development is still in an experimental stage, and it is too early yet to express any opinion on its ultimate utility, but it is designed to give an assurance to applicants and employers alike that the employment exchange is a place where the unemployed worker goes to find suitable employment and where the employer goes to find the labour he requires.¹ Although the division of labour in all the larger exchanges naturally leads to specialisation of the staff, there are still very few occupational sections in the strict sense of the term, that is to say, sections set up exclusively for dealing with particular categories of workers. The reason would seem to be that to a large extent the trade unions still act as placing agencies. In London there are three public specialised exchanges, one for the building trades, which also acts as a clearing-house for the whole metropolitan area, another for women's work, which is divided into two sections: one for highly skilled workers and the other for less skilled workers. The third specialised exchange was set up at the end of 1930 for workers in the hotel and catering trades. It also has two branches, one for kitchen staff and the other for floor staff. It acts as a clearing-house for the whole country. These three exchanges, the first and third of which are supervised by joint committees, have given complete satisfaction.

In 1930 a special section for the placing of domestic servants and hotel and restaurant employees was established in Glasgow. This office acts as a clearing-house for the whole of Scotland. In 1930 a special office for domestic servants was set up in Liverpool and a similar one in Leeds in 1931. These exchanges have so far proved satisfactory, and it is proposed to create similar exchanges in other towns. There are also a certain number of special offices for the placing of seamen. Special arrangements are in force for the placing of dockers, and these have been considerably extended recently, as a result of the activity displayed by the National Joint Council for Dock Labour.

It is interesting to note that the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, in its final report submitted towards the end of 1932, recommended that the possibilities of establishing further specialised exchanges and offices should be examined with a view to their extension.

In *Italy* specialised exchanges exist chiefly for agricultural workers. According to a Ministerial Decree of 20 August 1929, the finding of employment for these workers is entrusted to provincial

¹ *Report of the Ministry of Labour for the year 1930*, p. 16.

exchanges dealing with all agricultural workers except those working in rice fields, olive pickers and harvesters, for whom a national exchange was established in Rome by Ministerial Decree of 26 March 1932. This single exchange replaces three special exchanges which existed previously for the three groups mentioned. A Ministerial Decree of 23 September 1930 made it compulsory for employers and workers to use these provincial exchanges.

The Ministerial Decree of 12 December 1929 provided for the establishment of industrial exchanges in the different provinces of the kingdom, each exchange covering all categories of workers represented in the National Fascist Confederation of Industrial Trade Unions, with the exception of theatrical artistes, for whom there are special exchanges. The compulsory use of these exchanges was provided for by Ministerial Decree of 3 November 1931.

Provincial exchanges of a compulsory character were also set up for commercial workers by Ministerial Decrees of 3 January 1930 and 25 February 1931. These exchanges deal with all workers affiliated to the National Fascist Confederation of Commercial Trade Unions.

The Ministry of Corporations has also approved the establishment of employment exchanges for journalists; the creation of employment exchanges for transport workers and workers in inland navigation is under consideration. Public exchanges are also attached to the authorities of the principal ports for the placing of subordinate staff and officers in the mercantile marine.

In *Japan* specialisation by occupations has not yet reached a high stage of development, but already all the public employment services more or less definitely deal separately with casual workers and other workers. In March 1932 there were 64 special offices, and special sections in 129 offices of a general character, dealing solely with the placing of casual workers. At the same date there were seven special exchanges for women and special sections for women in seven other exchanges; while the placing of professional workers is carried out by a special office with three sections.

In the *Netherlands*, special sections are attached to some exchanges for the placing of domestic servants, commercial and office employees, hotel staff, workers in the building trades, metal workers, seamen, and workers in inland navigation.

In *Poland* there are specialist sections for domestic servants (in one exchange), young persons (two exchanges), non-manual workers (one exchange), war disabled (one exchange), dockers and seamen (one exchange), handicraftsmen and unskilled labourers (one exchange).

In *Switzerland* special sections for the placing of domestic servants, salaried employees and musicians have been set up in the employment exchanges of some of the larger towns, such as Zurich. There are also a certain number of approved joint agencies subsidised by the public authorities and dealing particularly with commercial employees, technical workers and hotel staff. The work of these exchanges is closely co-ordinated with that of the public employment exchanges.

In the *U.S.S.R.* an Order of the Labour Commissariat of 28 December 1930 prescribed that the "staff offices" should as a rule have the following sections: (a) for estimating labour requirements; (b) for the urban labour market; (c) for the seasonal labour market; (d) for the training of workers; (e) for vocational selection, testing and guidance.

According to section 9 of that Order the Committee for Urban Labour may have subsections for different branches of industry (metal work, building trades, etc.). These subsections are organised when required in view of the local importance of each industry, the number of workers employed, the demand for workers in various industries, etc. Every section for urban labour must also have a subsection for disabled men. The decision to establish a subsection is taken in every case by the local labour market committee.

The section for seasonal labour may also have subsections similar to those mentioned.

Industries for which no subsections exist are dealt with by sections covering various branches of the economic system. These sections always cover certain allied industries. The department for the training of workers has a subsection for young persons.

§ 2.—Agricultural Workers

In order to understand the special features of employment exchange work in agriculture it is necessary to outline briefly the characteristics of the agricultural labour market. Within each agricultural community where the persons forming it can, without interrupting their daily tasks, easily obtain information with regard to the state of the local labour market, there is rarely an equilibrium between the supply of and the demand for labour; farmers desiring to employ paid labour are unable to find the number of workers they want in their own district, while, at the same time, members of smallholders' or landless families are also unable to find sufficient employment on neighbouring farms. As a rule natural, economic, or other factors favouring certain types of

farming predominate locally, so that we find smallholding districts with a surplus of labour and other districts where farming is carried on on a large scale in which the contrary is the case. The two types of rural districts are naturally dependent on each other in respect of labour supply and demand. The distances between them may not be very great but they are nevertheless hindrances. Sometimes even the distance from the valley to the surrounding hills is enough to prevent an easy contact and some organisation is needed to enable the demand for and the supply of labour to be satisfied under terms suitable to both parties.

Again it may be that the composition of the population of a region is such that supply and demand in respect of permanent workers are approximately equal, but that either a prevailing monoculture as, for example, in the wheat areas of oversea countries, needing much extra help during spring and autumn operations, or an intensive cultivation of such crops as sugar beets, requiring much labour throughout the summer season, create demands for seasonal labour which cannot be found in the locality itself.

The structure of the agricultural labour market is also affected by the kinds of labour contract used. The typical worker on peasant farms is the unmarried farm servant, lodged and boarded by the employer. It is obvious that the employer, besides considering the worker's professional qualifications, his age, etc., also takes other factors of a more general nature into consideration when engaging him. In many countries the majority of the permanent workers on large estates live in dwellings provided by the employer, who also expects to get some additional help from the worker's wife or other members of his family. The size and composition of the worker's family therefore play an important role. Everywhere young workers are wanted for various kinds of work which if carried out by adults would not pay; agriculture thus needs a larger proportion of young workers than is usually to be found in the rural population. The habit of lodging workers, both single and married, also involves changing workers on definite dates, as otherwise the workers run the risk of being without accommodation during the period of temporary unemployment.

Finally, reference should be made to the scarcity of agricultural labour which has been the general rule in all countries passing through a period of industrialisation. The more favourable working conditions in industries which, together with other factors, have not only attracted rural workers to the towns but also kept the unemployed away from agriculture, limit the agricultural

labour market strictly to the countryside, while the geographical dispersion of workers makes it practically impossible to procure labour for urgent unexpected needs. This state of affairs has therefore quite naturally forced farmers in many cases to engage more permanent workers than they can employ during the off-season in order to avoid the risk of insufficient assistance during rush periods, increasing in this way the inelasticity of the agricultural labour market. In oversea countries, however, where mechanisation of agriculture is farther advanced, where relatively higher seasonal wages are paid and where the distinction between land and town is less pronounced than in Europe, conditions are somewhat different.

These characteristic features of the agricultural labour market have led to the creation of certain forms of organisation which are not laid down by any legislation or imposed by any authority, but which are found in many countries. The most remarkable of these is, perhaps, the concentration of the labour market on definite days either once a year, or both in spring and autumn, or still more frequently, according to the normal length of the contracts. These days for "shifting" have either been associated with an annual holiday or market day or, on the contrary, these days have themselves become a kind of local holiday. The "shifting" days under the influence of urban habits sometimes fall on the first day of a calendar month.

The fact that on the "shifting" days a considerable number of agricultural employers and workers were, so to say, in the market made it convenient to have some definite place to meet to discuss engagements for the coming employment period. In this way regular hiring fairs came into existence. Farmers came to these fairs to find workers and the young people to find jobs. The young men, by carrying a straw or a leaf in their hats, and the young girls, by holding a flower in their hands, indicated what kind of work they were qualified for. The market-place was usually a street or open square, or a public house.¹

It seems mostly to have been regular farm servants who were engaged at these markets, but sometimes even day labourers found jobs in this way. In this case the markets took place at frequent intervals, for example every Sunday or on weekly market days. It is obvious that the social disadvantages of this method of engaging labour are less important in the case of day labourers

¹ For details, see R. BAZIN: *Le blé qui lève*, Paris, 1907; also *Das Leben eines Landarbeiters*, 1911. Reference may also be made to the novels of THOMAS HARDY.

than in the case of farm servants engaging themselves for the whole season or even the whole year, often coming considerable distances to the market to find employment and more or less obliged to accept the conditions of the market. The hiring fairs offered good opportunities for agents to act as intermediaries. Frequently the public-house keeper acted in this capacity.

In certain countries the fee-charging agency system, which, from the point of view of rational organisation, was superior to the open market, prevailed. The meeting-place of the employers and workers was transferred from the street to the offices of the fee-charging agency. The habit of the workers of coming on definite dates to a certain centre for the purpose of finding employment has sometimes continued even after the setting-up of an official employment exchange system, the meeting-place being the exchange itself.

With few exceptions hiring fairs have now practically lost all importance, except in Scotland, where they continue to exist. Since 1925 farmers' and agricultural workers' organisations have tried to carry out improvements but not without meeting much conservative resistance both from employers and workers. These improvements would, it is believed, facilitate the working of the fairs. Instead of the fair taking place in the open street, even in the heart of winter, a sheltered room is provided and at the same time registers are opened in which farmers can put down their requirements and workers put down their names and indicate their qualifications and the kind of jobs they desire to obtain, the right persons in this way getting more easily into touch with one another. Attempts have also been made to move the hiring fair from the local market-day or holiday to another date on which it may be expected that attention will be more concentrated on the business of hiring.¹

Obviously advertising has become important with the spread of newspapers and periodicals over the countryside as a means of bringing employer and worker together, perhaps mostly in cases of skilled workers with training as stockmen, in rural handicrafts, etc.

The organisation of the seasonal labour market varied according to the special circumstances of each case. Where districts needed alien seasonal labour, conditions varied from farm to farm according to their size and intensity of cultivation, and it was impossible,

¹ See the *Scottish Farm Servant*, Vol. XIII, 1925-1926 and later years, and the *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. IX, 1926, pp. 203 and 404.

especially for foreign workers, to start looking for employment themselves ; it was, therefore, necessary that the engagement should take place where the workers had their homes. This was done through agents, except that large estates sent one of their own officials to contract for workers directly. Workers were mostly engaged in gangs and negotiations took place with the head of the gang, who engaged members of his family, friends or other persons to form the gang. Before the war a transport of children went each spring from the Tyrol in Austria to Friedrichshafen in Württemberg, where a hiring fair took place in the way described above. The children were engaged for the summer by the peasants, mostly as cattleherds or shepherds. Originally the children travelled individually to the market, but in 1891 an association was founded and it organised joint transports, excluded children below eleven years of age and saw that the contracts were carried out, but did not try in any other way, so far as is known, to regulate the market.¹

Such a form of labour engagement is of course only possible when the demand for labour always exceeds the supply. There must be certainty of getting a job if workers are to take the risk of travelling long distances in order to find employment. In regions with special crops like hops, for example, where it is important that the harvest be carried through as quickly as possible, there are practically unlimited employment possibilities. Everybody can be sure of being engaged ; the period of contract alone depends on the supply of labour. This period is always short. The workers are usually local, however, and for these special kinds of work may even come from towns and manufacturing industries. On the other hand, where uniform conditions rule over a wide area, as in the wheat belt in the United States, workers are attracted from great distances in spite of the short harvest period because they can go on to farms in other districts where the harvest begins later. Similarly the shearers in Australia begin in the north of the continent and move south during the season.

It need hardly be stated that in all placing of seasonal labour, habit plays an important role. Workers return year after year to the same farms, employers use the same agents or send their officials to the same village. Semi-permanent relations grow up which provide a sort of elementary organisation of the agricultural labour market.

¹ See *Der Landarbeiter*, Berlin, 1912, p. 51.

The need for a proper organisation of the agricultural labour market has first been felt with regard to migrant workers, for which well-developed systems of employment exchanges existed even before the war, and in the post-war period they have made considerable progress.

The situation with regard to the placing of resident workers is somewhat different. Employment exchanges of a local and regional character were for a long period practically without importance.

During the last few years the situation has, however, considerably changed. Faced with the absurd position of a lack of labour in agriculture and thousands of unemployed in the towns, many of whom had come from agricultural districts, the employment exchanges understood the importance of adapting themselves to the special character of the agricultural labour market.

MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS¹

When the *Czechoslovak* Republic was first founded in 1918, many regions in South Bohemia and above all in Slovakia were separated by new frontiers from the farming districts in Lower Austria and Hungary, to which the workers had been accustomed to go for seasonal work. It therefore became necessary to set up, in addition to the general employment exchanges already existing in Bohemia and Moravia, a special exchange attached to the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural workers. This exchange, known as the Slovak Labour Office for Agricultural Workers, which has its headquarters at Bratislava and which has seven branches in various districts of Slovakia, besides organising the placing of seasonal labour abroad, directs seasonal workers from Slovakia to Bohemia and Moravia, where they had not hitherto been employed. All placing of migrant workers is organised by this institution in collaboration with the local employment exchanges. Standard contracts are drawn up under its supervision, special transport arranged, etc. In the employment exchange at Prague, there are special sections for the placing of certain kinds of seasonal agricultural workers (non-specified seasonal agricultural workers, workers occupied in gathering hops, in sugar beet work and in the gathering of potatoes).

In *Germany*, up to the last decades of the nineteenth century, the question of seasonal labour was for the most part a purely

¹ See also Chapter V : *International Placing*.

internal problem. But the demand for seasonal labour soon became so great, while at the same time the supply diminished, that it was necessary to engage foreign workers not only for agriculture but even for industrial purposes.

Until about 1890 the recruiting and placing of foreign agricultural workers were carried on through commercial agencies and gang leaders. Moreover, an increasing number of workers who had become familiar with the conditions of work in Germany came back year after year on their own initiative. But the growing demands and the constant shortage of labour obliged the German farmers to seek a different solution of the problem. In 1888 an association for the placing of agricultural workers was set up in Berlin and this example was followed in other parts of Germany. The Chambers of Agriculture created in Prussia in 1894 also instituted employment agencies and set up special recruiting stations on the Eastern frontier with a view to breaking the monopoly of the commercial agents. In order to meet the difficulties due to the competition between the various Chambers of Agriculture, the German Central Agency for Landworkers was set up in 1905, amalgamating practically all the Prussian Chambers of Agriculture. During the last few years before the war the Agency had a nominal monopoly in the registration of foreign workers and issuing of identity cards, but in fact barely 20 per cent. of the recruiting and placing of foreign workers was carried out by it.

It was only in 1922, under completely changed circumstances, that the Agency was granted a real monopoly in the recruiting and placing of foreign agricultural workers. The essential feature of this system is the detailed control of each working place and of the relations between workers and employers, which it has been possible to carry out at relatively low expense.¹ Owing to increasing unemployment, the Ministry of Labour decided in 1928 to limit the quota of foreign seasonal workers to 125,000. This quota was further reduced in each subsequent year and since 1932 no more migrant workers have been admitted into Germany from abroad. At the same time the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance has done its best to replace foreign seasonal workers by German seasonal workers, and for this purpose the Central Agency has acted as a clearing-house

¹ For details, see G. S. RABINOVITCH: "The Seasonal Emigration of Polish Agricultural Workers to Germany," in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXV, pp. 213-235 and 332-367.

between the districts which have a surplus of agricultural labour and those which require such labour.

In *Great Britain*, special arrangements were made in 1928 by the employment exchanges in co-operation with the Canadian Government to obtain about 10,000 unemployed persons, mainly from the mining districts, to go to Canada for the wheat harvest. Special reduced fares were arranged and money was also advanced to the harvesters for their initial expenses. Fears were expressed at the time that the migrants would be stranded without work when the harvest was over and the Canadian railway authorities undertook to give every assistance in finding permanent work, especially on the land, for those who desired to stay. In fact, a considerable number took advantage of these facilities, while the remainder returned to Great Britain.

At the end of 1931, the Jersey Farmers' Union took steps to obtain labour from Great Britain for the purpose of lifting the potato and tomato crops during the season of 1932. Officials of the Ministry of Labour visited Jersey to ascertain the nature of the work to be undertaken and the wages, accommodation and conditions of employment attached to it. Public announcement was made of the availability of the employment and descriptive leaflets circulated to likely applicants, and representatives of the Jersey Farmers' Union inspected groups of men willing to undertake the work. As a result of these measures, some 3,000 workers were sent to Jersey in 1932 and representatives of the Ministry of Labour were stationed there to give help and advice and to assist in the adjustment of difficulties relating to methods of payment, accommodation, measurement of work, etc.

In *Hungary* a public system of employment exchanges for agricultural labour was set up in accordance with the Order of the Minister of Agriculture dated 20 September 1899, which was issued in exercise of powers granted by Act No. II of 1898. Its main purpose was the carrying out of massed recruiting of seasonal labour in one district for harvest work in another. It did not deal with the individual placing of rural workers, and its activities were confined to harvest time.

In *Italy*, special provincial exchanges deal with all the various categories of agricultural labourers with the exception of those engaged in the rice fields, in olive picking and in harvest work, who are catered for by special services. These provincial exchanges were established by the Ministerial Decree of 20 August 1929. A further Decree of 24 August 1929 prohibited all placing of agricultural labourers, even free of charge, by individuals or private

associations of any kind, while on 23 September 1930 a Ministerial Decree fixed 4 October 1930 as the date on which the provisions relating to the compulsory use of agricultural employment exchanges for placing purposes came into force. The employment exchanges are situated in the offices of the provincial unions of Fascist agricultural workers' trade unions. A schedule attached to the Decree which created these exchanges indicates the headquarters of the various exchanges and determines the number of branches which may be set up, account being taken of the distribution of the agricultural population. The administrative committees of the exchanges are presided over by the federal secretaries of the National Fascist Party or their representatives. They are composed of four members, two representing the Fascist Provincial Federation of Agriculturists and two the provincial unions of Fascist agricultural trade unions.

The exchanges have to register all the agricultural unemployed in their districts classified according to the kind of work they do. They must provide the Ministry of Corporations and other departments concerned on the fifth of each month with full particulars of the supply of, and demand for, labour during the preceding month. With regard to migration in Italy itself, to the colonies and to foreign countries, the action of the agricultural employment exchanges is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Corporations and by the Commissariat for Internal Migration and Colonisation, which is responsible directly to the Head of the Government. The duty of this body is to make a record of the labour available and to ensure its rational distribution throughout the country. An Act of 9 April 1931 provides that the Commissariat shall maintain constant touch with the agricultural employment exchanges and other bodies concerned in the placing of agricultural labour.¹ According to official statistics published by the Ministry of Corporations,² there were during the first six months of 1932 92 agricultural employment exchanges with 127 district sections and 1,058 communal sections. The number of actual placings during this period was 3,797,897.

With regard to agricultural workers engaged for work in the rice fields, in olive picking and in harvest work, there is an exchange at Rome with local branches. This exchange, set up by Ministerial Decree of 26 March 1932, took over the work of the separate exchanges which had existed up to that time for the three

¹ For further particulars of the work of this Commissariat, see below, p. 157.

² *Sindacato e Corporazione*, Rome, 1-31 Jan. 1933—XI.

kinds of workers referred to, and it is administered by a joint committee of eight members presided over by the Secretary of the National Fascist Party. The engagement of all workers of the kinds mentioned must be made through this exchange or its branches even if the engagement is for less than one week.

In the *Netherlands*, for the purpose of agricultural employment, the country is divided into three sections. These agricultural employment sections are responsible directly to the Employment and Unemployment Service of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In *Poland*, the considerable movement of seasonal agricultural migrants to Germany led to the organisation of a strict supervision of recruiting by the Polish Government. This recruiting was entrusted exclusively to the public employment exchanges. In virtue of an agreement between the Polish and German Governments of 24 November 1927, the public employment exchanges co-operated closely with the representatives of the German Central Agency for Workers acting on behalf of the German employers. Once the quota of workers allowed to emigrate had been fixed and the other preparatory work accomplished, the representatives of the German Central Agency went to Poland where, in agreement with the representatives of the public employment exchanges, they selected the migrants from among those presented by the Polish authorities. The number of workers recruited in this way exceeded 80,000 workers per year in 1928 and 1929, and this organisation of recruiting made it possible to reduce the unorganised movement to a minimum. As has been indicated under "Germany" above, this movement has been completely stopped since 1932.

In the *United States* each year since 1921 the Farm Labour Division of the United States Employment Service has broadened its activities and enlarged its scope of usefulness.¹ Its main activity is connected with the cotton and wheat harvests. The work consists in forecasting the amount of labour needed and the possible dates of the beginning of the harvest, and the workers are partly recruited and sent to farmers asking for labour, partly directed by the help of posters and information given in reply to individual enquiries. The total number of agricultural workers placed in this way is, however, a very small proportion of the total number of placings.

¹ U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE : *Summary of Activities of the Farm Labour Division, 1930*. Washington, 1931.

RESIDENT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

For a long time it seemed impossible for public employment exchanges to exercise any real influence in respect of resident agricultural workers. Even where special agricultural exchanges existed (as, for example, in France, where they were mostly founded by local farmers' associations but controlled by the National Agricultural Labour Office), they were never capable of accomplishing much. The same applies to the general exchanges. In many cases the employment exchanges are closely linked up with unemployment insurance, and in that case the unemployed are obliged to register at the exchanges. As a rule, agricultural workers have been excluded from, or only partly admitted to, such insurance, and have, in consequence, been free from the obligation to register when unemployed (this is, for example, the situation in Great Britain). Further, a scarcity of labour has been the general rule in agriculture. The number of workers which could be expected to register has never been large, and farmers were accustomed to other ways of finding labour than through the exchanges. The exchanges were organised primarily for urban needs and not specially adapted to agriculture, and were to a large extent only able to offer employers industrial workers, who were neither suitable for, nor willing to accept, agricultural work.

In *Germany*, in the post-war period, many attempts have been made without success to place urban unemployed workers in agriculture. It has been difficult to persuade the workers to accept agricultural work and farmers were averse to accepting industrial workers. These workers were considered unsuitable for agriculture. Agricultural employers and workers agreed that the employment exchanges in rural districts were seldom qualified to overcome the various difficulties and only a few exchanges had officials coming from agricultural surroundings. The great lack of agricultural workers in the spring of 1928, while at the same time more than 1,200,000 unemployed were registered in the country, living to a great extent in communities with less than 10,000 inhabitants, led to an extension of employment exchange activity in agriculture. Steps were taken to appoint 237 special officials with agricultural training in the course of the years 1928-1929. A further 197 officials either had grown up in rural communities or through many years' experience had gained the necessary expert knowledge. Towards the end of the year 1929 the exchanges employed altogether 435 full-time officials for placing work in agriculture. The work of these officials consists specially in work outside the office. They have motor cars at their disposal in order to be able

to call on the employers and personally acquire knowledge of the farms, especially in regard to lodging and boarding conditions. Agricultural placing work is based on a close co-operation with employers. An exact register is kept by the help of cards showing the workers placed, their qualifications, former occupations, etc. There is also a continued observation of the workers after they have been placed. There has existed, for example, for more than ten years a special welfare institution, attached to the employment exchange in the Free State of Saxony. Several welfare officials (women) supervise the accommodation, boarding and general treatment of the workers and in case of differences between employers and workers try to work as conciliators. This welfare work is especially assigned to persons who have previously been engaged in other occupations and to women workers. In the same way, in other parts of Germany, supervision is exercised with regard to young workers from industrial districts placed on farms.

In Germany as well as in other countries the extended activity of the employment exchanges with regard to agriculture includes the vocational retraining of urban workers for employment in agriculture. The agricultural training is given by means of short practical courses or by placing the workers on peasant farms, the holder of which receives a special grant as compensation for the teaching given.

In *Great Britain* early in each year records of workpeople on the registers of the employment exchanges are specially examined in anticipation of the demand for additional agricultural workers during the summer months, and those who are suitable are noted for submission for any of the seasonal occupations in agriculture. Enquiries are also made as to the probable demand for additional workpeople for permanent employment so that the exchanges may be able to supply the labour required at short notice. In addition to the general arrangements made, special attention is given to arrangements for the supply of labour to the principal fruit-growing districts and to the beet sugar industry. In 1930, 5,923 applicants were placed on field work in connection with sugar beet, and in 1931 the corresponding figure was 3,407.

Records of workpeople who have had previous experience in agricultural work are reviewed periodically and care is taken to submit only those who are really suitable for any vacancy offered. The employer makes the final selection from the applicants submitted to him. Posters are exhibited in suitable areas encouraging persons who desire work of this kind to register and special posters are printed for display in and around areas where workpeople

are required for particular occupations. The principal obstacle experienced in extending the employment exchange services to both farmers and workers has been the difficulty of securing the co-operation of farmers in notifying all labour requirements to the employment exchanges and of persuading them that in many instances the traditional methods of engaging labour were inadequate at the peak of the season. The facilities offered by the exchange services to farmers and growers are brought to their notice by correspondence or canvassing. Some 20,000 printed letters, which varied according to the locality, stating what has been achieved in previous years, are circulated to farmers throughout the country. As an additional measure a special effort has been made since 1931 to encourage an extensive use by farmers of the exchange service by securing the co-operation of the National Farmers' Union.¹

In *Poland* agricultural workers are recruited to only a small extent by the employment exchanges. The exchanges place mainly "deputatists," who represent a relatively small proportion of the total number of agricultural workers. This situation is due partly to the great distance which an agricultural worker would have to travel in order to register at an employment exchange, thus rendering direct contact between the worker and the exchange difficult, and partly to the lack of sufficient advertisement, which is considered to be too expensive in the special conditions appertaining to agricultural districts.

In *Sweden*, however, the official employment exchanges succeeded in gaining a firm foothold on the agricultural labour market. In 1906 the number of vacancies in agriculture filled by these exchanges was 2,000. In 1912, it had risen to 26,000 and in 1920 to nearly 40,000, and during the period 1926-1930 the figure varied between 45,000 and 50,000. Four-fifths of these workers were men. Of all men placed by the public exchanges, one-third has gone to agriculture. Private fee-charging agencies play practically no role in Swedish agriculture. The standard contract drawn up by the Social Board is now generally used for engagements in agriculture.

§ 3.—Seamen

The intermittent nature of maritime work, the heterogeneous character of the crews from the point of view of nationality and

¹ Cf. above, p. 37. See also *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Vol. XL, p. 170.

race, and certain special features in the methods of recruiting seamen, make the provision of special exchanges necessary if the placing of seamen is to be really effective.

While it is true that technical progress in shipping has increased the chances of employment on board for workers without sea-training and has resulted in greater interchangeability between certain specialised callings at sea and on shore, the fact still remains that the special occupational characteristics of maritime work make special institutions necessary for placing workers in that occupation. Apart from these reasons, depending on the nature of maritime employment, there is another : a general employment service if it is to be completely effective should be situated in the centre of the industrial life of a city, whereas for maritime occupations the exchange must be at the place where seamen are recruited or discharged, that is to say in ports.

But although specialised exchanges are still necessary for maritime occupations notwithstanding the changes brought about by technical progress, there are so many jobs on modern vessels that are not specifically maritime that very close co-ordination would seem to be necessary between the special employment services for seamen and the general employment services.

As has been mentioned, one of the chief characteristics of the employment of seamen is its intermittent nature. This has been shown by figures in a number of countries. In *Germany*, for example, the Seamen's Insurance Institution reckoned that in 1929, out of 67,690 seamen employed on merchant vessels and in deep-sea fishing, only 53,000 could have been employed for the whole of that period ; that means that for seamen engaged during that year the percentage of employment was only 85. *British* ship-owners have estimated that under normal conditions British seamen are employed for only forty weeks in the year, and indeed the number of weekly contributions for unemployment insurance has been fixed at forty in the year for seamen. With regard to instability in maritime occupations, it has been reckoned in Great Britain that a large number of seamen abandon their calling at a comparatively early age for shore employment.¹

In certain countries steps have been taken to rectify this instability in the employment of seamen by persuading them to remain in their occupation as long as possible. Under the *French* and *Italian* seamen's registration systems, for instance, certain

¹ *Registrar-General's Decennial Supplement (England and Wales, 1921)*, Part II: 'Occupational Mortality, etc.," Appendix B, p. 126. London, 1927.

advantages are guaranteed to those who register (e.g. pensions after a certain length of service ; employment on national vessels reserved for registered seamen).

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that instability of employment is much more marked for all ratings on freighters and especially on tramp vessels than on liners, where the officers at least are in many cases guaranteed, practically if not legally, more or less permanent employment.

Technical progress in shipping has affected the size of crews and consequently the demand for seamen. Although the tonnage of merchant ships in general increased by 42·8 per cent. from 1914 to 1931, the demand for labour is far from having increased to a corresponding degree. The reason is that the composition of the crews is no longer the same. Sailing-vessels, which required so many hands, have practically disappeared, and even steamers are no longer so preponderant as they used to be, since motor vessels have rapidly increased in number. The consequences of these far-reaching changes as they affect seamen are very clearly shown by a comparison of the results of the census of ships and crews made in Great Britain in 1921 and in 1931.¹ The British vessels in commission had a gross tonnage of 10,521,361 tons on 19 June 1921 and 14,011,305 tons on 26 April 1931, while at the same dates the number of seamen employed was 151,911 and 170,257 respectively. The tonnage of the vessels covered by the census in 1931 was thus 25·6 per cent. higher than in 1921, whereas the crews required had increased by only 11·8 per cent. ; in other words, the rate of increase of the staff was less than half that of the tonnage.

This growing disproportion may be in part explained by the progress made in shipbuilding and in the art of navigation, which make a real course of training at sea unnecessary for some of the lower ratings and for unskilled hands. It will be remembered how important it was to have highly trained crews with a large proportion of able-seamen on sailing-vessels. On steam or motor vessels, on the other hand, there is a marked tendency to include in the deck crew an increasing proportion of ordinary seamen and apprentices, recruited from among the industrial population ; in the engine-room, particularly as regards lower ratings and for certain specialised jobs, previous sea service is not considered essential. This is still more true for the catering staff, which tends to consti-

¹ The censuses covered only vessels actually in commission on 19 June 1921 and on 26 April 1931.

tute a growing proportion of the total crew, particularly on passenger liners. Since vessels in the merchant service no longer recruit their workers exclusively from among the maritime population it is easy to understand how, in some cases at least, the market for maritime labour has merged to some extent into the general labour market. It must also be remembered that fishermen may embark as seamen. Fishermen, being excellent sailors, can abandon their occupation for a longer or shorter period and be taken on as able-seamen, whereas those normally engaged in the mercantile marine, not having the necessary qualifications or training, have very rarely the desire or ability to accept employment as fishermen. Consequently there is an excess of certain deck ratings exerting a pressure on the labour market and this has been intensified by a general reduction in the demand for fishermen owing to the adoption of industrial methods in sea-fishing and the increasing prevalence of motor-driven craft.

Another problem peculiar to the placing of seamen results from the heterogeneous nature of crews from the point of view of nationality and race. As shipping is international, it is often necessary to engage workers in foreign ports. While it is true that at present the American and British merchant services no longer employ foreign seamen to the same extent as in the past, their employment has not entirely ceased, and the presence of a large number of coloured seamen (Lascars, Arabs, Chinese, etc.) in several mercantile marines raises special problems. In organising employment exchanges for seamen, the abuses committed by private employment agencies and private fee-charging agencies must be borne in mind to an even greater extent than in other occupations. In former times a great number of crimps, boarding-house masters, etc., exploited the seamen in search of jobs, and although, as will be seen later, great progress has been made in removing these abuses, no one can assert that they have so far entirely disappeared.

The special nature of finding employment for seamen was recognised by the Second Session of the International Labour Conference, which was held at Genoa in 1920 and dealt exclusively with maritime problems. A Convention was adopted for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen. It came into force on 31 November 1921, and on 1 January 1933 it had been ratified by the following nineteen countries : *Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cuba, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain,*

Sweden, and *Yugoslavia*.¹ This Convention embodies the principle of the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies (Article 2). As a temporary exception it is provided that any person, company or agency which has been carrying on the work of finding employment for seamen as a commercial enterprise for pecuniary gain may be permitted to continue under Government licence provided that such work is carried on under Government inspection and supervision so as to safeguard the rights of all concerned (Article 3). Every State Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies the Convention undertakes "to take all practicable measures to abolish the practice of finding employment for seamen as a commercial enterprise for pecuniary gain as soon as possible" (Article 3) and to see "that there shall be organised and maintained an efficient and adequate system of public employment offices for finding employment for seamen without charge" (Article 4).

Below will be found a survey of the national measures prohibiting the finding of employment for seamen as a commercial enterprise. In *Great Britain* this was prohibited by the Merchant Shipping Act as early as 1894 (section 112), and in *Italy* by the Legislative Decree of 24 March 1925, prohibiting the charging of fees for the placing of seamen. In *Norway*, where seamen used to be recruited almost exclusively through private agencies under Government supervision, nine such agencies still existed in 1929, when an Act was promulgated providing that no new agency would be licensed and that the existing agencies must cease their operations within five years. In 1927, fee-charging agencies were abolished in the chief ports of *Japan*. In *Canada*, where employment for seamen is found by Government officials known as "shipping masters," all other persons and agencies are prohibited from engaging in such work. At the present time fee-charging agencies have been abolished in the following countries, where public exchanges charging no fees are available for seamen: *Australia*, *Belgium*, *Bulgaria*, *Estonia*, *Finland*, *France*, *Germany*, *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sweden*, and *Yugoslavia*.

The systems of employment exchanges for seamen in the chief maritime countries vary considerably. It is not proposed to give a complete enumeration or description of them in this study, but merely to select a few examples.

In *France*, the finding of employment for seamen is co-ordinated

¹ Legislative measures to permit ratification are at present before the DANISH Parliament.

with the general system and also with the maritime registration system. According to the Decree of 21 January 1928, seamen's employment exchanges are considered as occupational sections of the Departmental or municipal exchange. They are managed by joint committees of representatives of shipowners and seamen under the chairmanship of an individual with the necessary authority and having the confidence of those concerned. The technical working of these exchanges is supervised by the administrator of the maritime register, while the administrative and financial aspects of the work are supervised by the Prefect of the Department or by the Mayor. These offices keep in touch with seamen's homes where such exist. Exchanges of this kind have been established in the eight principal ports of the country.

The *Belgian* system has certain peculiar features which are worthy of note. In 1913 the Belgian Shipowners' Association established a seamen's employment agency in Antwerp under the supervision of a joint committee of shipowners and seamen, with a special section for foreign seamen, who are very numerous in that port. The method by which this agency works is as follows: a master who wishes to collect or supplement his crew is informed twenty-four hours in advance of the applications for employment which might suit him, and is invited to appear at the office at a given day and hour. Seamen who wish to be engaged on a ship flying the Belgian flag are entered in a register, after having shown their identity papers and given the necessary information as to their rating, past service, etc. They then receive a card with a number corresponding to their number in the register. The possessor of this card is entitled to apply for employment on board Belgian vessels and to be signed on if accepted by the master. Members of the crew already in employment have to carry out the same formalities and are granted priority. If there are any further vacancies the master engages the seamen who are present, in the order in which they have been registered. The usual formalities are then carried out in the presence of the maritime authority responsible for supervising seamen's articles. In other Belgian ports seamen are recruited under the supervision of the maritime commissioners.

The *German* system established by Orders of 8 November 1924 and 30 September 1927 is a mixed system. There are twelve

official exchanges (*Heuerstellen*) in the chief ports. They are similar to the ordinary employment exchanges but are under the control of a joint executive committee of shipowners and seamen with an independent chairman. They are also under the general

supervision of the Central Maritime Office, the composition of which is similar to that of the local exchanges. There are also eleven exchanges established by associations, of shipowners, officers, seamen and fishermen. These exchanges are administered by joint committees and supervised by the Central Maritime Office in the same way as the official exchanges. The Central Office co-ordinates the work of the two types of exchanges and links them up with the general public employment exchange system. On the basis of the monthly returns which must be submitted by the twenty-three offices, the Central Office compiles statistics of placing operations for all the ports of Germany. In accordance with the Orders quoted, no fees may be charged for placing. The exchanges are open alike to officers and to lower ratings and deal with both merchant shipping and deep-sea fishing.

In *Great Britain*, where the general employment exchange system is governed by the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, there is no free public system of employment exchanges for seamen.

The occupational organisations of masters, navigating officers and engineer officers find employment for their members.

The leading ratings, in so far as they belong to the National Union of Seamen or undertake to become members, can apply to the joint placing organisation set up by the National Union of Seamen and the Shipping Federation, which is an association composed largely of owners of cargo vessels. This method, which is known as the "joint supply" system, works as follows: when a crew is being got together seamen who wish to be taken on apply to the mercantile marine office where they are summoned in the order in which they have been registered, and are interviewed by the master or his representative. The master is free to sign on an applicant, or to refuse him, and the seaman is also free to refuse to take service on any given vessel. When both parties come to an agreement the text of the articles of agreement is read out to the seaman in the presence of the Government superintendent. All these operations are supervised by delegates, known as port consultants, appointed in the most important ports by the Shipping Federation and the National Union of Seamen.

This system of placing, although closely linked up with the mercantile marine offices established by the Board of Trade, is not supervised in any way by the Government. Moreover, it is not a national system, for it is not applied in some important ports, such as Liverpool, or to any great extent in Glasgow and Southampton. In these ports the large companies owning passenger liners engage their crews directly. It is really a corporative system working

under the supervision of the National Maritime Board, which is a central joint committee for regulating all questions concerning wages and the general conditions of work of seamen.

A system somewhat similar to the British system was in force in *Denmark* until quite recently, the seamen being placed in employment by employment agencies organised and maintained by the seamen's unions. The private agents licensed by the Government applied to these agencies for seamen. The agencies submitted the names of workers in the chronological order in which they were registered. After a referendum in 1928 this system was abolished, and at present sailors find employment through private agents or through the agencies set up by the shipowners.

In *Italy* the public system of free employment exchanges for merchant seamen has been greatly extended since the passing of the Legislative Decree of 24 May 1925 prohibiting the charging of fees for the placing of seamen. Public employment exchanges charging no fees were established within the jurisdiction of every harbour-master in the Kingdom. It was subsequently made compulsory even for officers to use the services of these exchanges (Act of 16 December 1928). Even in 1929 seven times as many officers were registered with the employment exchanges as in previous years. The maritime employment exchanges are administered by the maritime authorities, who appoint the chairman of the committee of each exchange. The committee itself contains representatives of the organisations of shipowners and seamen.

In *India* seamen are generally recruited by the serangs or boatswains of the ships. The abuses which may arise under such a system (the seaman being obliged to pay a fraction of his wage to the serang for a number of months, etc.) led to a number of thorough enquiries from 1922 onwards, and these abuses have to some extent been checked by the appointment of shipping masters in the ports of Calcutta and Bombay, who are responsible for the reorganisation of the shipping offices. In accordance with Orders issued by the Government of India in 1929 lower ratings must be recruited directly by the shipowner or by the shipping offices, private recruiting agents being no longer permitted for the engagement of seamen. In this way the work of these agents has either ceased entirely or has been severely curtailed.

In 1929 a national joint committee with representatives of shipowners and seamen, similar to the one mentioned above in the case of Great Britain, was set up in *Japan*. The task of this committee is to exercise general supervision over the employment exchanges for seamen, organised by the two parties

concerned in the chief ports of Japan. Fee-charging agencies were prohibited and abolished in that country in 1927, and at the same date the agencies which had been set up by the Japanese Mercantile Marine Officers' Association and by the Japanese Seamen's Union were dissolved and their work transferred to the new employment exchanges.

In the *Netherlands* there is no uniform system of employment exchanges for all ports. A seamen's employment exchange was set up in Rotterdam, the principal port, in 1913. This exchange is supervised by a joint committee and forms part of the general public employment exchange service. Its work extends to foreign seamen and it endeavours as far as possible to supply seamen of the nationality required. The seamen pay no fee, but the shipowners concerned pay a small fee to maintain the agency.

In other ports in the Netherlands the two most important shipowners' organisations, known as the Northern and Southern respectively, have organised employment exchanges which their members are obliged to use.

In certain cases seamen are still engaged by private agents or by boarding-house masters, and this practice has not so far been forbidden by law.

In *Poland*, the public employment exchange in Gdynia has set up a special section for the placing of seamen and persons employed in a minor capacity on board ship.

In *Sweden* also the finding of employment for seamen is a separate branch (four special sections with nineteen placing officers) of the general employment exchange system, which is administered by a central committee of representatives of employers and workers with an independent chairman. Whenever questions concerning seamen are being dealt with by the central committee the representatives of the chief organisations of shipowners and seamen are convened to the meeting. In *Norway* the employment exchanges in the five principal towns have special sections for seamen, under the direction of persons with extensive experience of questions affecting the employment of seamen. In the other towns the ordinary exchanges deal with seamen. In *Finland* two special seamen's sections have been attached to the ordinary employment exchanges in Helsingfors and Turku. In other towns the work of finding employment for seamen is entrusted to the representatives of the Seamen's Homes Society.

In the three chief ports of *Australia* resident seamen's inspectors appointed by the Government are in charge of the employment section of the Government Mercantile Marine Offices. These

offices exist in all Australian ports. The inspectors keep a register of seamen in search of employment from which the shipowners can obtain crews for their ships.

In *Canada* and in the *United States* there is no special organisation for finding employment for seamen, the work of supervising the engagement and dismissal of seamen being in the hands of State officials known as shipping masters in *Canada*, and shipping commissioners in the *United States*. These officials are obliged by law to keep registers of seamen in search of employment and to facilitate the finding of employment for such persons.

In *Bulgaria*, *Finland*, *Greece*, *Poland*, *Rumania*, and *Yugoslavia*, seamen are placed in employment by the general public employment exchanges. In *Yugoslavia* an advisory Maritime Committee was set up at Split in 1928 to co-ordinate to some extent the public employment exchanges with the organisations responsible for finding employment for seamen. The Committee includes representatives of shipowners and seamen. In the *Piræus* in *Greece* a Seamen's Institute was set up in 1927 for assisting seamen who are unemployed.

§ 4.—Casual Labour

The existence of casual employment raises special problems with regard to placing which are particularly difficult to deal with. The essential features of casual employment are short engagements and want of selection, that is to say, engagements are made for a duration of half a day or, at most, a day or two at a time, and the labourers are chosen in a more or less haphazard manner from among a large number of applicants.¹ Of course in many cases casual labourers become known to those who are responsible for engaging the labour required day by day and may even have regular employment with one or more employers without any intervening periods of unemployment. But the great majority of casual labourers are not in this position and for them the result of casual employment as defined above is constant under-employment.

It is no doubt difficult to define casual employment with any exactitude, since it is impossible to say at what point an engagement ceases to be short and becomes long, and it is equally impossible to say exactly when a haphazard selection of first-comers subject to exceptions becomes a system of selection according to

¹ Cf. BEVERIDGE: *Unemployment a Problem of Industry*, p. 77. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1930.

certain qualifications also subject to exceptions. In *Great Britain* and *Canada* casual labour is defined for statistical purposes as employment for seven days or less, but this is necessarily a purely arbitrary definition. In any case, no definition is necessary for the purpose of this report. It is generally recognised that casual employment is a bad thing and many efforts have been made to bring about a certain measure of decasualisation, either through the public employment exchanges or in other ways.

Casual employment may exist in a considerable number of trades. The best known and the most widespread example is that of port labour of various kinds. There are also a number of men who wait more or less continuously outside certain factories in the hope of being taken on at a moment's notice for a short job. Casual employment also exists in the building trades where the job may normally last longer than in the docks (reckoned in weeks rather than in days) but is otherwise similar. Finally, there is the problem, which is found particularly in the United States, of migrant workers who have certain characteristics very similar to those of casual workers.

PORT WORKERS

Not all port workers are casual workers. Employers of port labour have in their employment indoor administrative and clerical staff and others who are engaged for long periods and who are in exactly the same position as employees in other industries. Even among the operational workers there are many distinct occupations and many of them also have permanent or regular employment. But the vast majority of the operational workers are in fact at the mercy of sudden and violent fluctuations in the traffic through the ports.

The problem of port employment, as a recent official report in Great Britain points out,¹ is that of co-ordinating the irregular demands for labour which are largely uncontrollable and of regulating the supply of labour. Port labour is by no means all unskilled. The variety of commodities handled, the existence of many different types of mechanical appliances connected with the loading, discharge and storage of goods, necessitates a number of skilled workers able to do the particular work required.

Theoretically a solution of the problem might have been found in an alteration in the nature of the demand in such a way as to

¹ MINISTRY OF LABOUR : *Port Labour Enquiry : Report*, pp. 12 et seq. London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1931.

make it more regular, but this is practically impossible, or at any rate extremely difficult. Consequently attention has been directed to the introduction of some measure of regulation in the supply of labour and in the methods of engaging it. The problem may therefore conveniently be divided into two parts dealing with each of these two subjects in turn.

Regulation of the Labour Supply

It is clearly an advantage for the employer to have at his disposal at any rate a nucleus of permanent or regular men and many individual employers have in fact maintained such a nucleus. A further step was taken by certain employers who kept a list of certain men known as "preference men," who were always engaged before the others for work with the employers in question. Such action by individual employers, however, is necessarily inadequate, as it merely affects their particular "pools" of labour and it does nothing to prevent the supply of labour from being increased to an almost unlimited extent by the unemployed in other industries. Hence steps were taken to introduce registration schemes for the purpose of regulating the supply of labour in such a way that the registered workers would be adequate in number and qualifications to meet all likely demands and should have a preference throughout a port over general unemployed persons from outside. Such schemes aim at securing greater security of livelihood for the registered workers. An important feature of nearly all registration schemes is the participation of representatives of the employers and workers on the committees responsible for their administration.

In *Belgium* an example of registration may be found in the port of Antwerp.¹ This scheme was adopted in December 1928 by agreement between the eight employers' associations and the three trade unions of the port and is administered by a joint committee consisting of nine employers' representatives and nine workers' representatives who are appointed by the Minister of Labour on the recommendation of the organisations concerned. The chairman is appointed by the Minister; the Governor of the Province may attend the meetings, but neither of these persons has the right to vote. There is an executive committee for the settlement of all difficulties of an urgent character between employers and workers. Dock work is in the first place reserved

¹ Cf. GOTTSCHALK: "Employment and Unemployment in Some Great European Ports," in *International Labour Review*, April 1930.

for men who make it their regular occupation. The dockers are divided into three classes, A, B and unregistered. Class A consists of workers who present themselves daily and men who are engaged for a fixed number of days per week or per month. These workers are given a registration card and are entitled to a pay-book. Class B is reserved for workers who only apply for work from time to time and who have no immediate chance of regular employment. The number of workers to be admitted to each class is fixed by the committee every three months. When the total number is 20 per cent. more than the normal requirements registration is suspended.

In *Germany* the scheme in operation in Hamburg, which is the earliest of its kind and dates from 1906, is entirely controlled by the employers through the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein*, but it is applied through a joint committee consisting of five employers' representatives and five workers' representatives under the chairmanship of an employers' representative. Workers are divided into three classes, permanent workers, reserve workers and casual workers. The workers belonging to the first class are registered with the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein*. In order to be admitted to the second class a worker must apply to the Card Committee of the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein*, a sub-committee of the joint committee mentioned above, which is composed of three of the five employers' representatives and three of the five workers' representatives. He then receives a card, the colour of which varies with his special trade. The Card Committee issues cards in accordance with the labour supply and demand, the number of cards issued being limited to the number of workers employed at times of normal activity. As a general rule no worker is entitled to a card unless he has worked at least thirteen weeks in the port and no worker under twenty-one years of age can get one. Disputes caused by the withdrawal of cards are dealt with by the Card Committee and on appeal by the Conciliation Committee of the port. The number of workers who may be registered is decided by the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein*.

In *Great Britain* the first registration system was established at Liverpool in 1912. Similar systems have been adopted elsewhere and there were thirty-one in operation in 1931. It is estimated that over two-thirds of the transport workers in the country of the classes concerned are directly covered by these registration schemes. In most of the ports concerned the schemes are jointly administered by committees representative of the port employers and the trade unions, while in the remaining cases they are operated by the employers, usually with some measure of consultation with trade union representatives. The constitution of the

committees is usually approved by the National Joint Council for Dock Labour. The Ministry of Labour as a general rule has taken no part in the formation of the committees. A few committees have an independent chairman, others have joint chairmen and in some cases the chairman is elected from among the members for an indefinite period or at each meeting. The Ministry of Labour assists any port registration committee whose constitution receives the Minister's approval. The extent and nature of the assistance varies considerably, but usually takes the form of placing the services of an officer of the Ministry at the disposal of the committee for the secretarial work, providing clerical assistance for the keeping of records and the compilation of statistics, the supply of registration cards or books and other items of stationery, and the use of official premises for meetings. In the case of the Port of London, for example, the Ministry provides an office especially for the use of the committee, a full-time secretary and staff, which varies in numbers throughout the year according to the requirements of the work. The necessary equipment, stationery and printing, etc., are also supplied. In the smallest ports departmental assistance may be confined to the occasional supply of stationery. The principal administrative duties performed by or on behalf of the committees are the issue, exchange, and withdrawal of tallies or registration cards, which entitle the holders to preference in obtaining employment, the compilation of records, general enquiries into individual cases, the compilation of statistics and other matters affecting the general control of the system. There is wide diversity in the classes of workpeople included in the schemes. Thus permanent weekly workers may or may not be included. With regard to the more casual workers, provision is sometimes made for a second group or reserve of registered men.

In the *Netherlands* there has been a registration scheme in operation in Rotterdam since 1919. An agreement was concluded between the employers and the trade unions providing for the appointment of a joint committee to deal with all questions relating to the engagement and dismissal of workers, etc., but in 1921 this scheme was terminated and an employers' scheme took its place. Four classes of workers are admitted to port employment, namely, permanent workers, holders of blue work-books, holders of yellow work-books and holders of weekly cards. There are about 5,000 permanent workers working for particular firms on contracts and they are registered with the *Haven Reserve* (the port employment office). They may be dismissed at a week's notice. The holders of blue work-books are selected by the

management of the *Haven Reserve* from among the better workers. When the system was reorganised in 1922 their number was brought up to about 3,000, and since then the number has undergone very little change. The holders of yellow work-books, who are chosen from among workers who have been working in the port for at least a year, at present number about 1,500. Unlike the previous category, they are not entitled to unemployment relief and health insurance benefits. When the number of these two classes of workers is insufficient a call is made on the fourth class of workers, who are then given weekly cards. Every six months the registers are revised. Holders of blue cards who do not satisfy the management of the *Haven Reserve* may be transferred to the yellow work-book class without any explanation. On the other hand, holders of yellow books may be given a blue book. Similarly, holders of weekly cards may be promoted to the yellow book class. All decisions concerning transfers of this kind are taken by the management of the *Haven Reserve* and dissatisfied workers may appeal to the employers' association. There exists a similar institution for admission to port employment (*Haven Reserve*) in Amsterdam.

Labour Engagement

In addition to the problems created by sudden and violent fluctuations in the demand for port labour as a whole, there is also the difficulty of co-ordinating the separate labour demands in ports with numbers of individual employers. It is customary, in the absence of any measure of co-ordination, for each port employer to engage the labour he requires at an individual "call place," and consequently there is a tendency for each call place to have its own "pool" of labour. But as it is very unlikely that all employers are exceptionally busy on the same day, the result is that an abnormally large "pool" is maintained in the port as a whole. As the official British committee already referred to points out, an over-stocked pool is "a permanent disability and source of danger to the well-being of the workers in so far as it restricts the power of the industry to maintain its efficiency and the opportunity for *bona fide* port workers of obtaining an adequate livelihood."¹ Consequently, if any progress is really going to be made in the direction of decasualisation, it is to a reform of the methods of engaging labour that attention must be paid.

In *Belgium*, in the Antwerp scheme referred to above, the

¹ MINISTRY OF LABOUR, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

employer must give preference to class A and then to class B. When there is a shortage of labour from these two classes he may engage unregistered workers, who are then put in class B. A worker belonging to class B, who has worked for at least thirty-nine days during a period of three months, may be transferred to class A. Registered workers must present themselves at the employment centres, of which there are six. At these centres all the operations of engaging dockers are carried out and all those who are not taken on have a note made to that effect on their cards.

In *Germany*, in the Hamburg scheme, each firm chooses from among the card-holders those workers whom it proposes to employ permanently. The cards of these workers remain in the employer's possession as long as the workers are in his employment. When a worker loses his permanent status, as a result of dismissal, for example, he automatically drops back into the reserve class. The workers in the reserve class are at the disposal of the various firms according to the necessities of the moment and must be dismissed by them immediately the work on hand is finished. The reserve worker is registered, at his own choice, with one of the fourteen call offices of the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein*. These offices, several of which only register workers of one or more given trades, are near the workplaces and are open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. The principal calling-on hours are 6 to 7 a.m., 10 a.m. to 12 noon, and 3 to 6 p.m. Only workers with cards are allowed on the premises. Applications for labour may be made personally, in writing or by telephone. The employer must specify: (1) the number of workers required; (2) where they have to go; (3) the hour the work begins; (4) the nature of the work. As a general rule, the employers send their foremen (*Vitzen*) to choose the workers required. Workers are always chosen in the order of the numbers on their cards, and each time the call begins with the last number of the preceding day. This system ensures the engagement of elderly workers who are still quite fit for work in the docks, but whom the foremen would otherwise tend to reject. Applications for labour not satisfied at the various call offices are telephoned through to a central clearing-house, which tries to make the necessary arrangements. If, in consequence of an exceptional rush of work, the reserve is exhausted, the *Hafenbetriebs-Verein* may appeal to the official employment exchange. The workers supplied through this medium may not be employed for more than three consecutive days, and preference must always be given to card-holders. Employers are not permitted to apply direct to the exchange.

The employers undertake to engage the workers they require through the call offices only, and workers with cards may not seek or accept work except through these offices. When a worker is engaged he is given a contract of employment ; the employer is required to pay the worker's wages even if he gives him no work during the period for which he has been engaged. The worker must consider himself dismissed when his card is returned to him by the employer or his representative.

All dockers in the reserve class must obtain from the employment exchange an employment card showing the days on which they do not work in spite of the fact that they apply at the regular calling-on hours. A note is made on this card for every half-day of unemployment.

In *Great Britain* there are still a number of ports with numerous individual and unconnected call places, and engagement at the ship's side is a common practice. A number of ports, however, have considered or adopted a system of engaging labour by means either of (1) surplus stands, that is, retaining the existing call places and providing stands on which men who have failed to obtain employment at the call places can assemble and from which employers can make up any shortages in their labour requirements, or (2) central stands, that is, the abolition of numerous call places in favour of one call stand where all labour for the port or section of the port can congregate for engagement by the individual firms. The question whether a central or surplus stand system should be adopted appears to have been decided by reference to the configuration of the particular port. Where circumstances permit, however, the view is generally held that the central stand system is simpler and more advantageous than the surplus stand system. The majority of ports now recognise fixed call times, usually at 7.45 a.m. and 12.45 p.m. and in a few cases there is a third call for evening and night work. At one port (Bristol) there is a jointly employed and remunerated official known as a port labour inspector. His duties are to assist the distribution of labour, to ensure compliance with the scheme by all parties, to exercise control over discipline, and generally to facilitate the work of the port in so far as labour is concerned.

The payment of wages, either daily or at the termination of the job, is still the common practice, but weekly payment is the practice at Liverpool, Manchester, and to a large extent in the South Wales ports. The principal difficulties at the present time of making weekly wage payment the practice are that it entails a change from a long-standing habit and also that men would have

to go to considerable trouble each week to collect their wages from the individual employers. This is obviated at Liverpool by clearing-houses and at Manchester by the fact that there is only one employer. In South Wales payment is made by the individual employers.

The Ministry of Labour has favourably considered requests for assistance in schemes for the closer co-ordination of labour engagement at ports with registration schemes, usually through the special office normally provided for proof of unemployment by port workers in accordance with the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Acts. Port workers who fail to obtain employment must prove unemployment twice a day.

In the *Netherlands*, in the Rotterdam scheme, two employment offices have been set up by the *Haven Reserve* (port employment office). Holders of blue and yellow work-books and of weekly cards seeking work must apply to one of these employment offices from 7 to 8 a.m., 10 to 11 a.m. and 3 to 4 p.m. Workers who cannot go in the morning or who have worked on the morning shift may apply at the special call held between 1 and 1.30 p.m. The employers' representatives choose the men they need from either class of workers present, with no special preference for one or the other. The employers undertake to engage their workers only from among the men registered by the *Haven Reserve*. They are free to select their permanent workers from any of the three classes of registered workers. When a permanent worker loses his job he goes back into the category to which he previously belonged. It is reckoned that barely 5 per cent. of the workers take jobs with employers who are not affiliated to the *Haven Reserve*. Unemployed workers must be present at all three calls mentioned above. A man who is absent at the morning call cannot have his book or card marked in the evening. The marking is done at the end of each call on the premises of the *Haven Reserve*.

OTHER CASUAL EMPLOYMENT AND MIGRANT LABOUR

There is no other industry in which casual employment is so predominant as in the port transport industry, but there are certain industries, such as the building trades, for instance, in which there is a considerable amount of casual employment. The problem here, however, is very different from that of port labour because the workplaces are much more dispersed. Building takes place all over a country and in every part of a town and it would seem to be especially suitable for some measure of specialisation

within the different exchanges or, as in London for example, in a special exchange operating over a wide area.

The problem of migrant labour is largely confined to the less thickly populated countries. In the United States it is estimated that the number of such workers ranges from two to three millions. This estimate was made in 1924 and the number has almost certainly increased since then. In a study made on behalf of the Russell Sage Foundation,¹ it is stated that they are to be found in the woods of Wisconsin and Maine, in railroad and construction work throughout the country, in the harvest fields of the central West and in other seasonal agricultural work, in the labour camps on the Pacific coast, in ice-cutting, and the like. Gathering at important transportation centres like Chicago, New York, and St. Louis, they are shipped out in gangs through various agencies, and after a more or less brief period at one place they either drift about the country or return to their starting-points to seek again similar employment. A large proportion are homeless, single men, and dissatisfied with the circumstances under which they live.

“ Inevitably under such conditions migrants have fallen a prey to certain types of fee-charging offices. Large numbers have suffered at the hands of so-called labour agencies which make a speciality of this type of worker, agencies whose operations have been the frequent subject of Government enquiry, and which have been charged among other things with the collecting of excessive fees, referring workers to jobs which do not exist on the chance that they may be unable to return to their starting-point and obtain redress, and the splitting of applicants’ fees between the labour agency and company foreman in charge of a particular job.”

It is upon foreign rather than upon native-born workers that abuses have fallen most heavily, yet because of their unfamiliarity with the language and customs foreign-born workers, who are said to make up three-quarters of the railroad and construction labourers, are the ones who are compelled to keep coming to the agencies and hiring themselves out under leadership of the *padrone*, or of “ interpreters.”

“ For the remedying of these conditions various Government policies have been adopted. In improving labour conditions the work of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing affords a good example of what can be accomplished in that direction. Something has also been accomplished in a number of States through the regulation of private agencies. . . . The record of public employment offices with reference to the migrant has been one of definite but entirely too

¹ HARRISON and Associates: *Public Employment Offices: Their Purpose, Structure and Methods*, p. 550. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1924.

limited accomplishment. In some important transportation centres private fee-charging agencies have felt the competition of these offices and have been forced out of business. This is true especially in the cities of the middle and far West. Reduction of these agencies has considerably lessened the constant shifting about of migrant workers, because, for one thing, it lessened the amount of false information given about jobs. The public has also been protected against what at times may be a serious local trouble, namely, the herding together of unemployed men.'

The difficulties in the way of securing the co-operation of large employers and of organising placing work to meet the special needs of this group are, however, by no means small.

§ 5.—Salaried Employees and Technical Workers

While it is true that, generally speaking, salaried employees still find posts in many cases through personal contact or by direct negotiations with employers or through fee-charging agencies, the considerable increase in the proportion of salaried employees after the war led to a rapid increase in the number of special sections within the public employment exchanges for dealing specially with this category of workers.

In *France* a special section for the placing of salaried employees and technical workers is attached to the Departmental Office of the Seine. It deals with cashiers, accountants, bank and insurance employees, stenographers, typists, salesmen, advocates' and notaries' clerks, private teachers, engineers, draughtsmen, chemists, managers, etc. In practice, it would appear that the work of the section is still restricted to the placing of subordinate staff. In the case of the more highly skilled workers, the Departmental Office still meets with a certain amount of mistrust on the part of employers, and its most recent reports show that one of its most important tasks for the future must be to convince heads of undertakings that they can find skilled employees through the exchange.

In *Germany* it is only during the last decade that public employment exchanges for salaried employees have developed on a large scale. One important factor in this development is the fact that the labour market for this group of workers has become much more important. In the period which elapsed between the occupational censuses of 1907 and 1925, salaried employees showed the biggest numerical increase of all employed persons, their number having almost doubled. It should be noted that the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, in

view of the abolition of fee-charging agencies, devoted special attention to the placing of salaried employees between the years 1928 and 1930. The number of special sections was considerably increased and the methods of placing reached a high degree of perfection.

The measures taken were based on a resolution adopted in April 1928 by the Executive of the Institution, according to which special sections for salaried employees were to be attached to every State employment office and to a sufficient number of local exchanges. According to this resolution, these sections must have adequate waiting-rooms, where such do not already exist, with separate accommodation for the two sexes, and a room reserved for employers. The methods used must be standardised, as, for example, by the introduction of standard forms and uniform card indexes. The sections must have a specialised staff and, if sufficiently large, specialists for the vocational guidance and retraining of salaried employees. The employment exchanges which are not sufficiently busy to have a special section for salaried employees must make the necessary technical arrangements to meet the special needs of this group of workers by using separate forms and files, and working in close collaboration with the nearest exchange in which there is a special section. The State employment offices had to see that effective clearing measures were adopted between the various local exchanges.

In addition to the salaried employees' section which was established in the Central Office of the Federal Institution by the Act of 16 July 1927 and the special sections attached to the State employment offices, there are now sixty-one local exchanges which have special sections for salaried employees, with joint committees, and thirty-two other exchanges which are specially equipped for the placing of employees but have not joint committees. The number of specialised placing officials is 451, of whom 298 are men and 153 women.

The exact field of activity of the salaried employees' sections has not yet been uniformly defined for the whole of Germany. As a rule, their operations cover all shop and office employees and technical employees. According to local circumstances, employees in certain industries, such as the hotel industry or agriculture, may be dealt with by special sections for these branches of economic activity. The members of the scientific, social and artistic professions (in so far as the last-named are not dealt with by special exchanges; cf. "*Artistes*," pp. 115-121) may generally apply to the sections for salaried employees. The employees'

section of the Berlin employment exchange has been appointed as a national clearing-house for salaried employees.

Although technical employees are generally covered by the salaried employees' sections, special services occasionally exist for them in districts where they are particularly numerous. In the district of the Rhineland Office, for example, there are seven sections for shop and office employees, and three special sections for technical employees. The salaried employees' section of the Karlsruhe employment exchange has been especially equipped as a clearing-house for technical workers for the whole of Baden, and the employees' section of the Stuttgart exchange acts as a clearing-house for Württemberg. There are also a certain number of exchanges which, though they have not special sections for technical employees, have specialised placing officers attached to their salaried employees' section for dealing with technical occupations. An arrangement made between the employment exchanges in Pomerania for applications from and vacancies for technical officers in the mercantile marine to be concentrated in the most important exchanges for the placing of these persons would seem to have given satisfactory results.

According to an enquiry carried out in November 1930, the public employment services on that date covered about a quarter of the labour market for salaried employees. That means that a large section of the labour market is still outside the control of the public services, posts being found chiefly by personal application, since fee-charging agencies are prohibited. The importance of the occupational exchanges which do not charge fees is decreasing steadily with the development of a public employment service. Out of a total of 56,591 vacancies filled in 1913 by the public exchanges and the occupational agencies, 7,110 or 12.6 per cent. were filled by the public exchanges, and 49,481 or 87.4 per cent. by the agencies. In 1930, out of 213,602 vacancies filled, 154,234 or 72.2 per cent. were filled by the public exchanges, and only 59,368 or 27.7 per cent. by the other agencies.

In *Great Britain* the public employment exchanges already do a considerable amount of the placing of salaried employees. In accordance with the Unemployment Insurance Act all non-manual workers earning less than £250 a year must, if they become unemployed, register with the public employment exchanges, which must do all in their power to find employment for them. Employees earning more than £250 a year sometimes register with the public exchanges, but their number is not very large. Most of the larger exchanges have special sections for commercial

employees. In London, the special exchange for women's work has a special section for salaried employees. Employees earning more than £250 a year still find employment to a great extent through fee-charging agencies.

In *Italy* a Ministerial Decree of 31 March 1930 established a system of provincial public exchanges for commercial workers similar to those for other types of workers and governed by the same legislative provisions. A Royal Decree of 25 February 1931 changed the original scope of these exchanges and made them responsible for the placing of workers who belonged to trade unions affiliated to the National Federation of Fascist Commercial Trade Unions.¹ The same Decree fixed the date on which it became compulsory for employers to apply to the public exchanges; this obligation exists even in the case of engagements for less than one week. Employers are exempt from the obligation in the case of certain categories of employees, such as head clerks, cashiers, storekeepers, etc. The administrative committees of the provincial exchanges are under the chairmanship of a representative of the National Fascist Party and consist of four members, of whom two represent the Provincial Federation of Fascist Commercial Trade Unions. According to official statistics of the Ministry of Corporations² for the beginning of 1932 there were ninety-two provincial exchanges for commercial workers with forty-two district sections and eleven communal sections; during the first half of the same year 64,548 vacancies were filled.

In the *Netherlands*, special sections for the placing of salaried employees (commercial and office workers) are attached to a number of employment exchanges.

In *Switzerland* commercial employees find posts through a joint agency with headquarters in Zurich and branches in twelve other towns. This agency is approved and subsidised by the authorities, and its work is closely co-ordinated with that of the public exchanges.

§ 6.—Artistes

The adaptation of public employment exchanges to the special needs of the artistic professions is not only a necessary condition for the abolition of fee-charging agencies but also one of the most complex problems connected with the organisation of public employment exchanges.

¹ By Ministerial Decree of 31 Dec. 1931, the competence of these exchanges was extended to workers in bakeries, pastrycooks' establishments and similar undertakings.

² *Sindacato e Corporazione*, Rome, 1-31 Jan. 1933—XI.

For long it was generally held that it was impossible to reconcile the bureaucratic organisation of public employment exchanges with the independent spirit usually met with among artistes and with the necessity for a very extensive degree of individual treatment in the placing of members of the artistic professions. The placing of artistes consequently remained for a long time and still is in some countries the almost exclusive prerogative of commercial agencies. The abuses and disadvantages frequently involved in that system are so well known that there is no need to dwell on them here ; in any case they would appear to be sufficiently serious to justify the efforts made, not without some measure of success, by a number of countries to include artistes in the field of activity of public employment exchanges.

As a matter of fact, while there has been a marked tendency for some time back in almost every country to solve the problem of the placing of artistes by setting up and furthering joint employment agencies with or without the collaboration of the public authorities, the countries with specialised public services for the placing of artistes are still comparatively few. The chief of these are France, Germany and Italy.

In *France*, the placing of artistes has been carried out since the end of 1922 by the Official Theatre Agency (*Agence officielle du spectacle*) which is attached to the Departmental exchange for the Department of the Seine in Paris. Although this office is a Departmental one, its work extends to practically the whole of France. It has a joint committee of representatives of the chief organisations of theatrical employers and employees, under the chairmanship of the President of the Prefectural Council of the Seine. Its operations are carried out free of charge.

Originally, the work of this agency was restricted to theatrical artistes and vocalists. Two years after its foundation a special section for the placing of musicians was instituted and another section for music-hall and cinema artistes. During 1931, the various services of the agency filled 2,762 posts out of 2,872 notified vacancies ; 20,381 applications for employment were received. Very probably the decline of 394 in the number of posts filled as compared with the preceding year was due to the general depression and the special depression in the theatrical industry. At the present time, the theatre agency has five sections. During 1931, the section for dramatic artistes received 3,557 applications for employment and was notified of 793 vacancies, of which 792 were filled. For a long time it was the most active of the various sections. The section for vocalists did comparatively little in 1931,

finding employment for only 196 persons, although it had been expected that this section would develop considerably, because many opera and concert impressarios who had long been opposed to the public employment exchanges had begun to realise the value of the system. The busiest section of the agency is that for music-halls, which in 1931 received 5,853 applications for employment and procured 1,277 engagements, being 233 more than in 1930. The musicians' service has worked steadily to alleviate the lot of musicians, who are still suffering from the competition of talking films, wireless, gramophones, etc. The work of the cinema service is constantly hampered by the habitual practices of the studios ; a number of conferences concerning the possible improvement of the methods of engagement of cinema supers were held during the second half of 1931 between representatives of the Ministry of Labour, the Official Theatre Agency, the directors of the chief cinematograph firms and delegates of cinema artistes.

In 1931 the Agency placed in employment in the Department of the Seine, where most of its work is done, 2,762 persons, whereas the number of posts filled in the same Department by the thirty-two commercial agencies was 14,032.

The experiment carried out by the Official Agency for the past ten years has proved extremely interesting. A very elastic system of administration was adopted so that it could compete successfully with the commercial agencies, as it has in fact done since it was set up.

In the opinion of singers, dramatic artistes and cinema artistes, the work of placing carried out by the Departmental Office of the Seine without any commercial aim will prove the ideal system when it has been improved and extended to every Department and when the activities of the different agencies are co-ordinated. Imperfect as it is at present, the Official Agency, in the opinion of those directly concerned, would be more extensively used by the employers if some of the latter were not bound up with the private agencies.

In the case of *Germany* it is impossible to describe all the efforts of the public authorities for the placing of artistes without going outside the field of public placing in the strict sense and giving some indication of the work of the joint institutions. The position in that country is summed up in the following paragraphs.

Theatrical artistes and singers are engaged through a joint employment agency (*Paritätischer Stellennachweis der deutschen Bühnen G.m.b.H.*) which, although not run for profit, has, for the last few years, charged a fee of 5 per cent. on salaries, half

paid by the artistes and half by the employers, in order to cover expenses. This agency is run by the German Theatre Association (*Deutscher Bühnenverein*) and the Theatre Co-operative Society (*Genossenschaft deutscher Bühnenangehöriger*). It is the only employment agency for theatre and cinema work.

For chorus artistes and dancers there is also a joint employment agency (*Paritätische Stellen-Vermittlung für Chorgesang und Tanz*). This agency was set up jointly by the German Theatre Association and the German Association of Chorus Artistes and Dancers ; its work is supervised by these organisations and by the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

Originally this agency charged no fees, but it was subsequently compelled, in order to cover its expenses, to charge a fee of 3 per cent. on the agreed salaries, half being paid by the artistes and half by the employers. It is the only agency for the placing of chorus artistes and dancers in Germany and its operations also extend to foreign countries. Artistes may use its services even if they do not belong to any trade union.

The placing of circus, variety and cabaret artistes has also been carried out in recent years by a joint agency, the *Paritätischer Engagements-Nachweis für Varieté, Cirkus und Kabarett, G.m.b.H.* (Parennä) in Berlin. This organisation began work in April 1930. It was managed by a committee of fifteen members, of whom five represented the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, five the employers' organisation (*Internationaler Varieté-Theater und Cirkus-Direktoren-Verband*) and five the artistes' union (*Internationale Artisten-Loge*). The agency charged fees but was not run for profit. Save for two directors, one representing the employers and the other the artistes' union, the members of the board of management received no remuneration from the Parennä. The officials in charge of the agency were selected from among former private agents with long experience of the profession. They were not paid a fixed salary but received a percentage on the amount of business transacted, that is, on the remuneration of the artistes for whom they found employment. The Parennä had a complete system of files from which all the necessary information could be obtained concerning the artistes and their art. Engagements were found not only in Germany but also abroad.

The work of the Parennä, however, was subjected to vigorous criticism from the outset. Mr. Pfirmann, representative of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemploy-

ment Insurance on the board of management of the Paremma, wrote: "Rarely, I think, has an institution set up jointly by employers, workers and the public authorities given rise so soon after its foundation to such severe criticism on every hand; it has indeed proved a great disappointment to everyone."

It was the artistes themselves who were most discontented with the Paremma. The chief reasons were the method of collecting fees and the system of remuneration for the agents. While the private agencies had charged commissions payable in equal parts by the artistes and the employers, the fees charged by the Paremma had to be borne entirely by the artistes. This unequal treatment seemed to them all the more unjust because they tended to consider the officials of the Paremma as agents acting in the interests of the employers only. Moreover, the system of paying in proportion to the amount of business transacted led the officials to neglect the general interests of the profession and to seek merely their own profit; they therefore gave preference to artistes whom it was easy to place in employment either because of their reputations or because they were easily satisfied.

In the opinion of the artistes, the results of the work of the Paremma were less satisfactory than they would have been had less commercial methods of work been adopted. In this connection it should be mentioned that there is perhaps too great a tendency to blame the Paremma for a situation which was full of inherent difficulties and was due chiefly to the acute depression in the theatrical industry. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the working of the Paremma was far from satisfactory. Consequently artistes found themselves obliged to use the services of unauthorised agents to a very large extent. Mr. Fossil, President of the *Internationale Artisten-Loge*, has summed up his opinion on the subject as follows: "None of the hopes which the artistes placed in the Paremma was actually realised. It is true that corruption was abolished, but on the other hand unauthorised placing flourished. To obtain engagements through agencies other than the Paremma costs the artistes considerable sums."

The employers were hostile from the beginning to a joint system of placing, and had accepted the Paremma very reluctantly. Consequently, although they had little to complain of in the spirit in which the Paremma carried out its work, they preferred to use private agencies.

In spite of the subsidies granted by the Federal Government, the Paremma was in constant financial difficulties. The Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment

Insurance, tiring of its constant appeals for subsidies and forced itself to practise the strictest economy, insisted that the Paremma must reduce its expenses and increase its receipts. This attitude was bound to react unfavourably on the social aspect of the work. "In my opinion," wrote Mr. Pfirrmann, "the chief cause of the failure of the Paremma must be sought in the fact that the founders tried to organise a public utility institution, necessary for the profession with which it dealt, on a purely commercial basis."

The hostility shown towards the Paremma, its financial difficulties and, more generally, the depression in the theatrical industry, would all seem to have contributed to its failure. On 27 May 1932 the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance invited the affiliated organisations of employers and artistes to resign their shares to it, so that the Paremma became a purely Government institution. Even this new system, however, proved temporary, and the restoration by Decree of 20 October 1932 of fee-charging agencies for the placing of variety artistes virtually abolished the Paremma and revived the system of private agencies.

Placing by the public authorities has so far remained of little importance except for musicians. The thirteen State employment offices have special sections for musicians, and services for the placing of musicians exist in forty-one local exchanges.

A rather special form of placing institution for artistes exists in Italy. The Ministerial Decree of 18 June 1932 established a National Office for placing in employment, free of charge, all staff belonging to the organisations affiliated to the National Federation of Fascist Theatrical Associations (*Ufficio Nazionale di Collocamento per le categorie dei lavoratori rappresentati dalla Federazione nazionale Sindacati fascisti dello spettacolo*). This office is administered by a committee consisting of the Secretary of the National Fascist Party as Chairman and six members, of whom three are appointed by the National Fascist Association of Theatrical Employers (*Associazione nazionale fascista delle industrie dello spettacolo*) and the other three by the National Federation of Fascist Theatrical Workers (*Federazione nazionale dei Sindacati fascisti dello spettacolo*). The Committee is authorised to establish branches of the National Office in Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Bari and Palermo. As from 1 October 1932, the engagement of theatrical workers through the medium of the national office became compulsory even in the case of engagements for less than a week.

In Poland, nineteen free private agencies carry out about 40

per cent. of the placings of artistes. Otherwise, this work is largely done by the commercial agencies. The public employment exchanges have not hitherto organised the placing of artistes.

§ 7.—Hotel, Restaurant and Café Staff

Special sections for the placing of hotel, restaurant and café staff, generally established with the active co-operation of those concerned, are already in existence in a large number of public exchanges. These sections cover a variety of occupations. In *France*, in the Departmental Office of the Seine, for instance, the section deals with the following categories: head waiters, cashiers, floor staff, barmaids, waiters and waitresses, clerks, wine waiters, firemen, bakers, pantry staff, dish washers, messengers, etc. The special sections of the German public exchanges and the special public exchange in London for the hotel and catering trades deal with the whole dining-room and kitchen staff, general staff, and managerial, office and control staff; that is to say, their operations cover all persons employed in the industry in the widest sense of the term.

The peculiar features of placing work in this industry, which is essentially one for personal service to a very heterogeneous public, may be attributed to the great variety in the types of undertakings. The employers' requirements vary greatly, not only as regards occupational qualifications in the strict sense, but also as regards the character of the employees. The placing officer must take account of these various requirements and also to a great extent of the wishes of the applicants. If the public employment exchange is to have the confidence of those concerned, it must show great adaptability. The personal factor which often predominates in this branch of placing and the view held for a long time by employers and employees that the public employment exchange was a bureaucratic organisation which could not be adaptable, explains the persistence of fee-charging agencies, which retain their hold on this branch just as in the case of domestic service. The same reasons account for the fact that a large number of posts are obtained through the agencies of occupational organisations or by private application.

But wherever the public employment exchanges have won the support of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned they have rapidly extended their activities, to the obvious advantage of those who use them. In the case of seasonal employ-

ment where workers are transferred from one place to another, new and very effective measures have been adopted in many countries and have been highly appreciated by the organisations concerned.

Special sections for the placing of restaurant, hotel and café staff are generally divided into subsections for the most important groups. The London exchange for the hotel industry, for instance, has special sections for floor staff and kitchen staff respectively. Men and women are placed separately. The special section attached to the Wiesbaden exchange, to take an example from Germany, has three subsections: one for administrative and kitchen staff, one for general and auxiliary staff, and a subsection for women grouping all the female staff. There are so many grades in the hotel industry that separate waiting-rooms are generally arranged for the higher categories, as well as rooms in which employers who wish to choose their workers themselves can interview applicants. A separate room is particularly desirable for extra staff, and, as they may at any moment be summoned by an employer, they are generally to be found in large numbers in the waiting-rooms reserved for them. In order to prevent applicants from having to wait uselessly for a long period, some exchanges have arranged with the employers to send their applications at certain hours of the day, as, for instance, between 10 a.m. and midday on Sunday morning.

Considerations such as the character of the employee, his physical appearance, bearing, and even the state of his wardrobe, may play quite an important part, as has already been mentioned, in the placing of these workers. Hence it is generally the custom to send a number of candidates to the employer, or in the case of posts in a different area, to send the employer copies of certificates and photographs of several applicants, so that he can make a selection.

The hotel industry is partly a seasonal one, and the seasonal requirements cannot generally be met except by the transfer of workers from one area to another. Undertakings in summer or winter resorts cannot find more than a few of the workers they require on the spot, for at the end of each season hotel employees hasten back to the large towns so as to live at home and benefit by the greater chances of employment which the towns offer them. It is therefore from this reservoir of the large towns that the seasonal undertakings must draw their staff at the beginning of the season. But the beginning of the season depends to a great extent on atmospheric conditions, so that applications for staff arrive suddenly, and if they are to be dealt with adequately the arrangements for the transfer of workers from one area to another

must be very efficient and work rapidly. In some countries, therefore, a special direct clearing-house, separate from the ordinary district clearing-house, has been set up for seasonal employment in the hotel industry, covering the district exchanges in health resorts and the exchanges in the urban centres which serve as a reservoir.

In *Germany* an association of this kind (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) for the north-western area was set up in 1920. It includes the exchanges in the summer resorts on the North Sea and the special sections for hotel and restaurant staff attached to the exchanges in Bremen, Hanover and Brunswick. Similar associations have been set up in the Rhineland, in Central Germany and in the north-east, the last-named being for the summer resorts on the Baltic. In this case the special section attached to the Stettin exchange acts as a clearing-house for the various exchanges along the coast and applies when necessary to the competent section of the Berlin exchange. According to the rules of the association, every coastal exchange must send at brief intervals to the Stettin exchange a list of the applications and vacancies in its area which it cannot satisfy. The Stettin exchange publishes weekly a general bulletin which is distributed to all the exchanges in the association, which can then get into direct touch with neighbouring exchanges or apply to Stettin. The exchange at Stettin also organises propaganda for the whole group to encourage the hotel industry to make use of the public exchanges, and, when necessary, it sends canvassers to visit hotels in the district on behalf of the association's exchanges. In addition, the association endeavours, by systematic study of the economic needs of the district, to foresee the trend of the labour market and thus be able to make the necessary arrangements in time. It also organises vocational courses.

A similar system of collaboration exists in *Austria* between the special sections for the placing of hotel, restaurant and café staff attached to the exchanges at Graz, Innsbrück, Klagenfurt, Linz and Vienna. In *Great Britain*, certain urban exchanges are specially linked with particular seaside resorts for the purpose of clearing seasonal and domestic vacancies. Each main resort is linked with supply areas, where "pools" of suitable workpeople are established, and thus employers and workpeople can be brought together without delay. Moreover, the special exchange in London acts as a clearing-house for the whole country.

In the *Netherlands*, special sections for the placing of hotel, restaurant and café staff are attached to a number of employment exchanges.

§ 8.—Domestic Servants

The problems connected with the placing of domestic servants are of a very special kind. The class of workers concerned must as a rule live in close contact with the employer's family. The term " employer " has therefore quite a different meaning in this case from what it has in the case of an industrial employer. Consequently the engagement of a domestic servant by an employer does not depend only on the capabilities of the worker and the general conditions of employment offered, as in the case of other categories. A large number of other factors come into play, and must be taken into account by the placing officer. Character, appearance, adaptability to the idiosyncrasies of a master or mistress are generally the deciding factors in the engagement or dismissal of a domestic servant.

Moreover, those who make use of the employment exchanges in connection with the placing of domestic servants are rather different from those using them for other purposes. The great majority, or in many cases almost all, of those who apply are women. There are also great differences in the training of domestic servants. There are still very few cases in which a regular course of occupational training forms the basis of a servant's ability and knowledge. In many countries a large proportion of the applicants are girls coming from the country and seeking employment temporarily as domestic servants in the hope of finding a job in industry later. During periods of depression and unemployment, on the other hand, unemployed women from industrial occupations, who have for years lost all touch with domestic work, come back to the employment exchanges in the hope of finding a post as domestic servants. An enquiry carried out in France in 1931 showed that in some of the employment exchanges for domestic servants in the Department of the Seine this special category of unemployed women represented 84 per cent. of the total applicants for employment.

These considerations explain to a certain extent the nature of the " servant problem " which has existed practically everywhere since the war, and which finds expression on the one hand in the difficulty of discovering skilled servants, and on the other hand in the growing number of unemployed persons registered with the exchanges for domestic servants.

The special features of the placing of domestic servants require highly individualised methods of work. It is frequently asserted that the public employment exchanges are not able to adapt themselves to these conditions, and that consequently they

should not engage in this form of placing. Without underestimating the practical difficulties in organising an efficient system of placing for this group of workers, it may be noted that the same difficulties have to be overcome by commercial employment agencies. Moreover, experience in every country has shown that it is precisely in this field of domestic service that the most serious abuses have been committed by commercial agencies.

The organisation of specialised sections for the placing of domestic servants by the public exchanges would therefore seem to be a necessary complement to the measures taken for restricting or abolishing commercial agencies.

The experience of certain countries seems to show that such an organisation is perfectly possible within the general framework of the public employment exchange system. At the same time it must be admitted that up to the present such an organisation is the exception; in most countries domestic servants are still recruited either through fee-charging agencies, the bulk of whose business, it may be added, is with domestic servants, or through newspaper advertisements or personal acquaintances. The two latter methods would even appear to be the most common, the engagement of domestic servants through private agencies and public exchanges being of secondary importance.

A well-organised occupational service for domestic servants must take account of all the special features of this type of work. One important question is that of the premises. It is generally agreed that domestic servants should be dealt with in a different building from that used for workers in general. In large towns, moreover, the work must be decentralised by the institution of a number of exchanges or sub-offices. Successful results appear to have been obtained in some places with a system of registration offices for collecting applications and notifications of vacancies and transmitting them to a central service, where the actual work of placing is done. In any case, the service must have at its disposal premises enabling the placing officer to have a private interview with the applicant, which excludes the use of counters, grilles, etc. The placing officer must also have private interviews with the future employer, who in turn will wish to interview the applicant. A well-organised exchange for domestic servants will therefore have at least one special reception room for servants, which may be divided into various compartments for different types of servants, another room for employers, and a third for interviews between employers and servants.

Another point is the information required concerning the

applicant and the nature of the post. It has already been pointed out that the information which the placing officer has to supply to the employer or to the servant is much fuller and of a more personal kind than that usually required for other occupations. A special system of work is therefore required, and in practice the exchanges very often use much more detailed forms for the placing of domestic servants than for other occupations. Consequently the work of placing domestic servants usually requires much more time, and is considered as one of the most expensive items in the employment exchange service.

In *Austria* the public employment exchange for Styria has instructed its services for domestic servants to adopt appropriate methods of work. In order not to omit any important questions when registering vacancies or applications, the services have to use a special questionnaire with different headings for every category of domestic servant. The replies to these questions are then used for filling up the corresponding sections of the registration card. In addition to the usual facts, therefore, the placing officer has a certain amount of information as to the special conditions of employment (work to be performed, type of cooking required, number of children, etc.) as well as the character, experience and personal qualifications of the applicant.

In *France* the enquiry into domestic service mentioned above showed that in 1931, out of a total of 194,962 placing operations in domestic service through all the employment agencies, 100,168 were carried out by licensed agencies (fee-charging), 4,260 by registered agencies (private agencies not charging fees), and 90,534 by the public exchanges. As a result of the depression, a large number of unemployed women from factories or shops have begun to seek domestic employment, but it has proved very difficult to find jobs for them because employers are not anxious to engage workers who can produce no references. Moreover, such applicants have rarely proved able to adapt themselves to their new type of work. The enquiry, therefore, concludes that the placing of unemployed women factory workers in domestic service has generally proved a failure.

With regard to the organisation of occupational services for domestic servants in the public employment exchanges, reference should be made to the section of the Departmental Office for the Seine, which has been in existence since 1917. This section covers the following occupations :—men : valets, kitchen staff, footmen, porters, private chauffeurs ; women : charwomen, chamber-maids, kitchen staff, general maids for families or commercial

houses, house porters, teachers and governesses. It is divided into two departments, each with its own clearly defined field of work. In 1929 a joint committee was appointed for this section as an experimental measure, but it seems to have ceased work after two years. The last annual report of the Office for the Seine does not mention its existence.

In *Germany* an enquiry carried out by the Ministry of Labour in 1929 into the conditions of work of domestic servants provided a certain amount of information as to the recruiting of these workers. It would appear that 7.6 per cent. of the placing operations for domestic servants were carried out by the public exchanges, 7.7 per cent. by free private agencies, 9.7 per cent. by fee-charging agencies, and 75 per cent. by other means. As fee-charging agencies have been prohibited in Germany since 1 January 1931, statistics at the present time would doubtless show rather different results, but it is probable that even the abolition of the commercial agencies has not reduced considerably the number of engagements by "other means" (newspaper advertisements, etc.) which constituted the great majority in 1929.

It is hardly possible so far to determine to what extent the prohibition of fee-charging agencies in Germany has led to an extension of the work of the public exchanges in dealing with domestic servants. In any case a great number of public exchanges in different districts have for some time back had special services for domestic servants. The employment exchange in Frankfurt-on-Main has a special service for charwomen and another for domestic servants. Both of these belong to the occupational section for women. Similarly, the Leipzig exchange has organised an occupational section for domestic servants; after the abolition of commercial agencies, the number of domestic servants who used this section was doubled in the course of a year (1 April 1931 to 1 April 1932). The exchange in Mannheim has also an occupational service for domestic servants which, since 1925, has been divided into a section for domestic servants in the strict sense and a section for other personal services (governesses, ladies' companions, etc.). The exchange notes that the work of these sections is extending.

The placing of domestic servants in Berlin by the public exchanges is at present carried out by a number of local offices for different sections of the city. This method is obviously very convenient for the public, but it has led to certain complications in the work of the exchanges. The employers developed the habit of applying simultaneously to a number of local offices, so that

frequently a single vacancy was registered several times, a long list of questions being answered in each case. This procedure made the work of placing domestic servants rather costly. It is interesting to note that when this fact was brought to light it was suggested in various quarters that employers using the public exchanges for domestic servants should pay a registration fee, a fraction of which would be refunded when a servant had been found. The fraction kept by the exchange would help to cover the considerable expense involved for the exchanges by employers who were too hard to please.¹

There are special administrative regulations concerning the placing of domestic servants by the public exchanges in *Great Britain*. The exchanges have received instructions that special sections should be set up for domestic servants whenever possible, but in small exchanges it is considered sufficient to reserve a part of the counter for domestic servants. Arrangements must be made for personal interviews between employers and servants. The officers selected to deal with domestic service must study its special features, and particularly the possibility of finding employment for women workers who are unable to obtain employment in their own occupations.

Applications for employment and vacancies in domestic service are registered differently from those in other occupations, special registration cards being used. These cards contain spaces for the customs of the family, the special obligations of the servants, etc. There is also a reference card which the exchange sends to any persons mentioned by the servant, requesting them to supply information as to the length of service of the worker in question, her character, ability, etc.

Special attention is devoted to domestic servants under the age of twenty-one. The placing officers have to pay strict attention to ensure that these persons are placed in suitable employment. If a vacancy seems suitable for a young girl, the exchange applies to her parents or guardian to obtain their permission before filling the post. Once the job has been accepted, the exchange must write to the parents after a certain time and discover whether the girl is still in her job; if any difficulties have arisen, action may be taken against the employer.

It should be noted that in Great Britain provision is made for collaboration between the public exchanges and private agencies

¹ A. EXNER: "Aus der Praxis der Hausangestelltenvermittlung in Gross-Berlin," in *Arbeit und Beruf*, 1932, 1. Heft, Ausgabe A.

only in the case of domestic service. The initiative for such collaboration must be taken by the private agency, and will not be accepted by the public exchange unless the agency does not charge fees to the servants.

The latest reports of the Ministry of Labour mention the institution of special sections for domestic servants by the employment exchanges in Leeds, Liverpool and Glasgow. There are also others—as, for instance, at Newcastle-on-Tyne. These special sections would seem to be developing very satisfactorily. In Glasgow the employment exchange has set up a clearing-house for domestic service and for hotel and restaurant employees for the whole of Scotland.

In *Poland*, specialised sections for the placing of domestic servants have been set up in the employment exchanges of Warsaw (in the central office and in a local office), in Poznan and in Lodz. The Ministry of Social Welfare states that these sections are developing very satisfactorily. It may be noted that fee-charging employment agencies for the placing of this class of workers were abolished by a circular of 13 November 1929, issued under the Act of 3 February 1926.

§ 9.—**Juveniles**

Special arrangements are perhaps more necessary for the placing of juveniles than for any other class of worker. The efforts made in many countries to provide special services for this purpose can be easily explained by the psychology of the young worker, the necessity, particularly during a period of unemployment, of shielding young people from the atmosphere of discouragement and demoralisation which is sometimes met with in exchanges dealing with adults, and the fact that at this early age placing must imply vocational guidance and demands special precautions.

Posts may be undesirable for young persons either from an industrial or from a moral point of view. One of the principal evils of juvenile employment is what is called “blind alley” employment—that is to say, work such as that of errand-boys, lift-boys, newsvendors, etc., which requires no previous training and leads nowhere. Boys and girls in such posts are usually discharged at the age of sixteen or thereabouts on the ground that they are then too old for such work. Juveniles discharged from blind-alley jobs at sixteen or seventeen have the greatest difficulty in obtaining further employment because they are quite unskilled and are therefore competitors in a particularly over-filled section

of the labour market ; and employers who are willing to train young workers prefer to take them when they leave school.

In the placing of girls, the moral aspect is of particular importance. If the work found is in the district in which the parents live, they may be able to exercise a certain amount of control ; but if the work is in another district such control is almost impossible, and a special responsibility is therefore placed on the employment exchange.

But the most important problem is that of the connection between placing and vocational guidance. Just as the work of the vocational guidance officers will remain incomplete if they neglect to find employment for those whom they examine, so there can be no adequate system for the placing of juveniles without previous vocational guidance. For these reasons the placing and vocational guidance of young persons tend more and more to be united in a single organisation, either by attaching special vocational guidance services to the exchanges dealing with young workers or by co-ordinating the exchanges and the vocational guidance offices which exist outside.

A few examples are given below of the methods of co-ordinating vocational guidance and the placing of young persons in a certain number of countries. It is not claimed that they give a complete picture of the steps taken hitherto to ensure such co-ordination ; they are intended merely to show that, although the methods advocated or adopted may differ widely, these two forms of social assistance to young persons are gradually being brought into closer harmony with each other.

In *France*, the work of vocational guidance was closely linked up with that of placing by the Decree of 26 September 1922, which makes provision for the establishment of vocational guidance offices to assist the public employment exchanges in their work and to enable them to find suitable employment for juveniles.

These offices are administered by local occupational committees, or, failing them, by permanent sub-committees of the Departmental technical education committees.

All the public vocational guidance offices and the private offices subsidised by the State are supervised by the inspectors of technical education in accordance with the Act of 25 July 1919.

Statutory provisions concerning vocational guidance have existed in *Germany* for some considerable time. The Employment Exchanges Act of 22 July 1922 made it compulsory for the employment exchanges to include among their activities voca-

tional guidance and the placing of apprentices whenever the Federal Office for Employment Exchanges or the authorities of the different States or communes asked them to do so. According to the same Act, institutions other than the employment exchanges which engaged in the work of vocational guidance and placing were brought under the supervision of the Federal Office for Employment Exchanges, which could have them closed down if they did not conform to the general principles laid down by that Office.

The Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act of 16 July 1927 established an organic connection between vocational guidance and placing. According to section 56, the aim of the employment exchanges is to fill vacancies as far as possible with suitable labour. For this purpose the special conditions of the vacancies on the one hand and the industrial and physical qualifications, personal and family circumstances, and period of unemployment of the applicant on the other hand, must be taken into account as far as the state of the labour market admits. With regard to vocational guidance, account must be taken of the physical and intellectual qualifications, the inclinations and the economic and family circumstances of the applicant, and also of the state of the labour market and the prospects in various trades. Vocational guidance must subordinate the interests of special trades to general economic and social considerations. The Act prohibits the carrying on of vocational guidance for gain, and requires the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance to supervise agencies for vocational guidance which are not carried on for gain and are not connected with the employment exchanges. The only exception is in the case of legally recognised industrial associations which merely give information or advice concerning a given occupation. As a matter of fact vocational guidance is at present almost entirely in the hands of the employment exchanges, which work in close co-operation with the schools and the social welfare offices.

There are certain other institutions dealing with vocational guidance from a scientific standpoint, but in so far as their work extends to practical placing, they collaborate closely with the employment exchanges. Although special vocational guidance services do not exist in all the employment exchanges, their number is sufficient for them to be within the reach of all concerned. When young persons are to be placed as apprentices, the vocational guidance officer himself deals with the matter, but always in close touch with the placing officer. The importance of

the work performed by the vocational guidance service and the public employment exchanges in this direction is shown by the fact that in 1929-1930 some 49 per cent. of all the vacancies for apprentices were filled by these organisations.

In *Great Britain*, the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, in its final report issued in November 1932,¹ points out that "the employment and unemployment of juveniles present problems of a different nature from those of adults, and to consider these problems special organisations have been established for the purpose of giving advice to boys and girls on the choice of suitable employment, placing them in such employment, and so far as possible guiding and supervising them during the early years of their industrial life." Under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment were set up in connection with the various exchanges, consisting of representatives of the local education authority, teachers, employers and workpeople, and other persons having special knowledge of, or interest in, matters affecting juvenile employment and welfare. Under the Education Act of 1921, however, option is given to the local education authority in any area to exercise choice of employment powers as regards boys and girls. In such cases the duties are administered through a Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee of the Education Committee. The executive work is carried out by the juvenile department of the employment exchange and the juvenile employment bureau of the education authority respectively. Central control has been unified since September 1927 in the hands of the Minister of Labour under the Ministry of Labour (Transfer of Powers) Order, 1927. There is therefore in every area in Great Britain an official organisation concerned in the placing of juveniles, and the duties undertaken in all of them by the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment of both types are practically the same. They fall into three main groups: (a) advisory work on choice of career; (b) placing; (c) industrial supervision.

(a) *Advisory work on choice of career.* Talks are given to children in their last term at school on local opportunities for employment, the import of the transition from school to industrial life and similar subjects. School-leaving cards are furnished by head teachers to the committee, giving particulars of the educational standard attained, the desires of child and parent as regards employment,

¹ Cmd 4185

the fitness of the child therefor, and comments on any natural handicaps which might restrict the range of choice or of any special measure of supervision required during the early days of employment. These personal reports are of great assistance to the committees in giving advice to the juveniles, whether this is done in individual interviews at the school or by advisory rotas of the Juvenile Employment Committee on the exchange or bureau premises. Registration at the exchange or bureau is normally maintained at not less than weekly intervals. The minimum age at which a juvenile becomes insurable is sixteen; that at which benefit may be drawn is sixteen years and thirty weeks. Up to the latter date registration is voluntary, but thereafter it becomes compulsory if benefit is claimed.

(b) *Placing.* The juvenile officer of the exchange or bureau visits employers in order to obtain their close and sympathetic co-operation and to ensure that as wide a choice of employment as local industries afford may be offered to the juveniles. Special care is given to the selection of juveniles with the twofold object of satisfying the requirements of the employer and of ensuring that boys and girls are placed as far as possible in accordance with the committee's advice.

(c) *Industrial supervision.* After the boy or girl has been placed in employment, provision is made for his or her industrial supervision. The object of this is to test the value of the advice given and to ensure during the difficult period of transition from school to industrial employment that the child settles down as rapidly as possible in his chosen occupation. Some weeks after the first job has been secured, children are invited to "open evenings" at the exchange or bureau and asked to give a report on their progress or difficulties. These conferences are of a very informal character. Visits are also paid by the juvenile officer to employers to ascertain what progress a boy or girl is making. Finally, a system of home visiting is applied in some places, especially in cases of lapsed registration, or when personal or home circumstances are difficult.

Two National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment (one for England and Wales and another for Scotland) were set up in 1928 to examine and discuss matters relating to juvenile employment and to advise the Minister thereon. These Councils consist of representatives of education authorities, employers, workers, teachers, and of Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment. In addition, the Ministry of Labour issues an annual report on the work of the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment.

The number of vacancies for juveniles filled by the exchanges

and bureaux has shown a steady increase, and reached 307,000 in 1931. The proportion of all vacancies filled through official agencies is believed to be about 40 per cent., a much higher percentage than in the case of adults.

A special effort has been made since 1928 to transfer juveniles from the depressed areas to more prosperous parts of the country. A sum of money was set aside from the Coalfields Distress Fund, raised voluntarily in 1927-1928 and supplemented by the Government, for the special purpose of assisting juvenile transference by contributions to the juvenile's income where industrial wages in the new area were insufficient for his or her full maintenance. In the case of girls, the provisions are restricted to transfers to purely industrial employment. In addition, travelling fares are paid from public funds for juveniles going from the severely depressed areas to jobs elsewhere. From February 1928 to December 1932, 7,271 boys were transferred under this scheme, while in the same period 7,845 girls were transferred to domestic employment and 344 to industrial employment.¹

Since 21 December 1928, *Spain* has had regulations concerning vocational training in all its aspects, including vocational guidance. The Act contains no special provisions concerning the interdependence of guidance offices and employment exchanges, but prescribes that there should be collaboration between them. One section deals with changes of employment resulting from industrial reorganisation and the necessity for re-apprenticeship. For this purpose the vocational schools must get into touch with the institutions for occupational rehabilitation, as well as with institutions for vocational guidance and selection and for unemployment questions. The two central vocational guidance offices (in Madrid and Barcelona) must obtain from the Ministry of Labour all the necessary data concerning the state of the labour market and any useful information which may be available from the labour inspectors. These official offices, while entirely autonomous in their work, are constantly in close collaboration with the employment exchanges for the placing of young persons.

More recently Spain has taken a further step towards effecting collaboration between vocational guidance and the placing of juveniles by the adoption of a new method of placing workers. The Act of 27 November 1931 provided that all fee-charging employment agencies should be abolished within one year and that

¹ Cf. MINISTRY OF LABOUR: *The Employment Exchanges of Great Britain; and Report for the Year 1932* (Cmd. 4281); also ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: *Final Report* (Cmd. 4185).

free public exchanges should be set up under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour. The duties of these public exchanges include dealing with apprenticeship and vocational selection and guidance. Consequently vocational guidance is now closely linked up with the regulation of the labour market, and becomes of real economic importance.

In many countries where the relationship between the vocational guidance of young persons and their placing in suitable employment have not yet been completely and finally regulated, there are numerous examples to prove that such relationships do actually exist. They undoubtedly meet a real need, for they are being extended, and efforts are constantly being made to make them more permanent and systematic. It will suffice to mention a few examples of such collaboration in European and oversea countries.

In *Australia*, where vocational guidance is of very recent growth, the vocational guidance offices do more than merely give advice. In New South Wales, for example, the Sydney Guidance Office, attached to the Department of Public Instruction, has an Economic Adjustment Committee, dealing with all questions concerning the placing of young persons. These two activities are closely linked together. In South Australia also the vocational guidance offices work hand in hand with the employment exchanges.

In *Japan* the competent authorities have for a number of years been studying the special problems arising out of the recruiting of juvenile labour. A number of different solutions have been proposed or tried for co-ordinating guidance and the placing of adolescents.

In *Norway* the Municipal Council of Oslo in 1931 adopted a proposal of its Administrative Committee to set up a special section in the public employment exchange to deal with the vocational guidance and placing of young persons. The work has been entrusted to two trained officials.

In *Poland* the unsatisfactory distribution of juvenile labour led the Government a few years ago to consider the possibility of introducing some form of vocational guidance as a preliminary to the recruiting and placing of young workers. About 1921-1922 the overcrowding of the labour market by unskilled workers, accompanied by a fall in the number of apprentices in various trade guilds, induced the central employment service to prepare a Bill for the establishment of vocational guidance committees attached to the employment exchanges. According to this Bill,

the committee would consist of three employers' delegates (one for industry, one for agriculture, and one for commerce), two delegates of the trade unions, and one delegate from the trade guilds. The duties of the committee would be to co-ordinate the work of all vocational guidance institutions, to collect the necessary information for vocational selection and guidance, to engage in propaganda for vocational training in accordance with the economic requirements of the country, and to establish a programme of work for the public employment exchanges in the field of vocational guidance. This proposal does not appear to have been adopted. At the same time the numerous vocational guidance institutions in Poland are already collaborating with the appropriate bodies to ensure that suitable work will be found for young persons.

In 1931 the Minister of Education in *Sweden* appointed five experts to help the Ministry in an enquiry into the following points: how to provide facilities for sound vocational training for young persons and how to improve the methods of placing of young persons, more especially in areas where the employment exchanges are not yet highly organised. As far as is known this investigation is still proceeding.

In *Switzerland* the relationship between vocational guidance and placing vary considerably according to the nature of the employment exchanges in the different Cantons. Generally speaking, guidance and placing are everywhere considered as being inseparable. There is therefore constant collaboration between the vocational guidance offices and the exchanges whenever the guidance officer himself cannot undertake the placing of young persons. In some Cantons the public employment exchanges supply the vocational guidance offices with information and statistics concerning vacancies for young persons. The system of co-ordination between those two activities is practically always determined by agreement between the various bodies concerned, and close collaboration has been effected as a result of the efforts made by the Swiss Association for Vocational Guidance and the Protection of Apprentices. The members of this Association include not only all the vocational guidance officers, but also representatives of employers and workers, the authorities, the official bodies dealing with apprenticeship, chambers of trades, etc.

In the *United States of America* a Federal Department is responsible for co-ordinating vocational guidance and the placing of young persons. After the war the Junior Placement Division of the United States Employment Service was instituted as a

national vocational guidance service, and was entrusted with the task of supervising the dismissal of young persons from war-time industries and guiding them to other occupations or trades. The employment exchanges organised by the municipal authorities also deal with vocational guidance and receive grants from the Federal Government for this purpose. In the State of New York, for example, there are seventeen employment exchanges for young workers between the ages of fourteen and twenty years. In 1931 these exchanges registered more than 14,000 applications.

§ 10.—Other Special Groups

The preceding survey of the special problems involved in the placing of certain occupational groups is far from giving an exhaustive enumeration of the questions which have to be dealt with by the employment service in a large city. The individual cases arising out of the complexity of modern economic life are so numerous that it is scarcely possible to foresee them all, and consequently what a well-organised employment service requires above everything else is great adaptability.

There are, however, certain tasks of the employment exchanges which deserve to be noted—tasks which are really social rather than occupational. The first of these, which affects chiefly the services in large cities, is the placing of former prostitutes. Among the many delicate problems of the moral rehabilitation of women who have gone astray, the most important is that of finding stable employment in which they can make a fresh start by healthy, honest work. All those who have dealt with these questions agree that young women who have been driven to prostitution by poverty, environment, or the culpable negligence of their parents and guardians, and not by any inherent tendency to vice, can be reclaimed.

The provisions concerning the assistance to be given to prostitutes who wish to change their mode of life are generally contained in police laws and regulations, but in many cases these legislative texts remain ineffective, especially if they do not state what institutions are to be responsible for this task, which is essentially a social duty. If the intentions of the authorities are not to remain a dead letter, effective measures must be taken to assist prostitutes in their desire to change their mode of life by providing them with suitable and, if possible, permanent employment. In the case of young girls, the police courts or the police authorities often board them out in families or in charitable institutions where, in certain cases, they can attend schools or workshops and learn a trade.

When they leave such institutions, however, which must be after a short period, other organisations have to complete the work which has so far scarcely begun.

In most countries the problem has been successfully solved by private initiative. Certain important organisations such as the international associations for the protection of girls, the Salvation Army, and other similar institutions, are actively engaged in this work, and have had a large measure of success. Homes for these girls exist practically everywhere, and former prostitutes can be trained for domestic service, placed in agricultural settlements, or found employment in industrial undertakings far from large towns.

In other countries, where licensed brothels are prohibited by law on grounds of public health and order, the authorities responsible under the legislation for stamping out these houses are also given the task of facilitating the return of prostitutes to respectable life by finding suitable employment. In *Germany*, for instance, where licensed brothels were abolished by the Act of 26 February 1929, various organisations for assisting prostitutes work in close collaboration with the public employment service, which has rendered valuable assistance in the rehabilitation and placing of persons belonging to that group. Special efforts in this direction have been made in Hamburg.

On the other hand, in countries where prostitution is regulated, it has been found advantageous, in order to prevent the traffic in women, to concentrate the recruitment of the staff of licensed brothels in an office controlled by the public authorities, which possesses a virtual monopoly in this field. In *Japan*, for example, the laws and regulations in force authorise the existence of special employment exchanges which recruit prostitutes for houses of ill-fame situated both in Japan and abroad. The activity of these exchanges, which are not allowed to carry on the ordinary work of a general employment agency, is strictly regulated.¹

Another problem which in many respects closely resembles the preceding one is the placing of former prisoners.

The aim of imprisonment should be to restore to their place in society those who have broken its laws. From this point of view the placing of former criminals is of special importance not only for the offenders themselves, but also for the community. The community has duties to fulfil and interests to defend when the prisoner is set free. If the prison system is intended to lead to the reintegration of the offender in society, then, from the very be-

¹ Cf. for example, Order No. 4 of the Metropolitan Police of Tokyo, 28 Dec. 1926.

gining of his period of detention, the prisoner's obligation to work must find a counterpart in the obligation for the State to provide him with a useful and permanent occupation suited to his ability and likely to stimulate his desire to reform. Later, when he is released, it is of the utmost importance for the community that appropriate measures should be taken to find employment for these persons, who cannot easily obtain jobs in the ordinary way. This should be considered as a far from unimportant branch of social policy and welfare work. It is unfortunately easy, once the reforming influence of prison work has ceased, for the ex-prisoner, unable to find employment, destitute or almost so, and with no claim to unemployment insurance, even in countries where such a system exists, to be tempted to break the law again. It is therefore wise to take certain precautions during the period of detention.

It is generally agreed by those who have studied prison life that the payment of wages to prisoners for their work is one of the most effective measures for facilitating their reintegration into society.¹

It is very difficult to find employment for a discharged prisoner. The longer he has been in prison, the greater the probability that all contact with friends and with his former trade has been lost. Moreover, there are not many employers who are ready to employ an ex-prisoner. Even if he does find work, he is often paid at lower rates than his fellow workers,² and runs the risk of being made to feel by them that he is an outcast, which does not facilitate his reabsorption into society. How, then, is the discharged prisoner to find suitable work, and who will help him to obtain it?

The International Prison Congress in London in 1925 came to the conclusion that the necessary work of social assistance to discharged prisoners, the most important aspect of which is certainly placing in employment, should be entrusted to suitable organisations set up and managed by private initiative, with the collaboration of the public authorities and the employers' and workers' organisations. The Congress also stressed the possibility of international collaboration in this matter.³

According to a report prepared by the International Labour

¹ Cf. the resolution adopted on this point by the International Prison Congress in London in 1925. Cf. also Dr. FRITZ RAGER, Secretary of the Chamber of Labour in Vienna: *Gefängnisarbeit und Entlassenenfürsorge*.

² The provision in the Prussian Order of 7 June 1929 that prisoners in intermediate prisons may be employed at the current collective agreement wage represents an effort to counteract the tendency to underpay ex-prisoners.

³ Cf. records of the International Prison Congress, 1925.

Office,¹ the following measures are necessary for ensuring the placing of former prisoners.

(1) Steps must be taken to preserve the links uniting the prisoner to the outside world, and especially to his trade. This, however, is not always possible, for in many cases no one wishes to have anything to do with a convicted criminal. In these cases new links with the world must be forged for the prisoner while he is in prison. This is possible only if there are intermediaries who enjoy the confidence of the prisoners and of the outside world alike. Experience shows that teachers and the clergy are more persevering and successful in such work than the prison officials and governors. It would therefore seem preferable to entrust the task of finding work for discharged prisoners to voluntary organisations rather than to the prison authorities.

(2) In all cases where it has not been possible to employ a prisoner at a trade he had previously learnt, he should spend a certain period in an intermediate prison before his discharge. In it he should learn the conditions of free labour before becoming a free worker himself. He should remain in this establishment until suitable employment is found for him.

(3) The possibility of facilitating the placing of ex-prisoners in free industry by legislative measures should be examined. The laws of many States now require employers who employ a certain number of workers to engage one or more seriously disabled men. It is not a very long step from the adoption of measures for the physically disabled to a similar provision on behalf of the morally disabled, of course with suitable precautions to exclude hardened criminals from its benefits.

(4) Measures might also be taken to secure the payment of adequate wages to ex-prisoners. The extension of collective agreements would do much to remedy the defects which still often exist in this respect, as their provisions also apply to ex-prisoners. By a careful choice of employment the bodies entrusted with the after-care of prisoners could also do much to prevent them from being underpaid where there is as yet no protection by collective agreement.

In *Italy*, for example, a Welfare Committee is attached to every

¹ *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 3 and 4, March and April 1932. Cf. also *Prison Labour*, a report submitted to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations by the International Labour Office, D. 16/1932. In 1931 the International Labour Office was requested to submit to the Secretary-General a memorandum on the treatment of prisoners; in the same year the Assembly of the League of Nations on 23 Sept. adopted a resolution requesting the Office to continue its study of the question of prison labour.

Court, and has the following duties: (a) to assist discharged prisoners, and, if necessary, to help them to find permanent employment; (b) to assist the families of prisoners in various ways, and even, in certain cases, by cash allowances.

A final problem which may be mentioned is the finding of employment for soldiers after their period of service. The importance of this question was greatest when military service occupied the most critical years from the point of view of the vocational training of young workers, but it is still far from negligible, notwithstanding the more or less general reduction in the length of the period of military service.

The methods which may be adopted by the public employment service in this field vary considerably. If the military authorities themselves do not take any steps, the employment service can generally do little more than distribute circulars to the soldiers informing them of its existence, or exhibit posters in the barracks. Elsewhere arrangements are made in the army organisation for collaboration with the employment exchanges. Frequently, as in *Switzerland*, this duty is entrusted to the regimental chaplain, who personally collects applications for employment from young soldiers who are about to be discharged, gets into touch with the employment exchanges, inserts the necessary advertisements in the papers, and even, in certain cases, corresponds with the employers. In *Great Britain*, the Admiralty has prepared a booklet entitled *A Brief Description of the Qualifications and Abilities of Men of the Naval Service*, which is distributed to employment exchanges, and can be obtained by employers and others. The purpose of this booklet is to show the qualifications acquired by seamen during their service, and to facilitate their return to civilian life when their period of service comes to an end.

A brief reference may also be made to the problem of finding employment for disabled ex-service men—a problem which was, and still is, of importance in the countries involved in the war. Frequently (as, for example, in *Great Britain*) certain officials of the employment exchanges in large towns are detailed to deal with this group of workers. For further details, readers may be referred to the study on the problem published by the International Labour Office some years ago.¹

¹ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Employment of Disabled Men*. Geneva, 1923. 282 pp.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES

§ 1.—General Measures to Promote Mobility

MANY Governments have taken action, especially through public employment exchanges, with a view to promoting the mobility of labour among different occupations. While it is sometimes maintained that the payment of unemployment benefits tends to make labour somewhat less mobile by making the search for work less frantic, it is also true that a benefit system facilitates mobility because all workers covered by the scheme have to register at the exchange and have to accept suitable employment when such employment is available. Employment in a different occupation from the worker's usual occupation is not as a rule considered as "suitable employment" in the early part of his period of unemployment, but after a time he may be obliged to accept such an employment or to forfeit his right to benefit. It appears, however, difficult to determine accurately the extent of the occupational changes of workers through public employment exchanges owing to the scarcity of statistical information on the subject. But certainly, to a large extent, changes of occupation are brought about through the ordinary day-to-day work of the employment exchanges. In previous chapters a description has been given of the technique and procedure employed in registering applications for employment and orders for workpeople, and in bringing the two together and thus effecting a placing. Normally, the workpeople who are placed in employment obtain work in their own occupation. But, when a particular occupation is relatively overcrowded, and there is a possibility of a placing in another occupation, the placing officer will certainly recommend an applicant for employment, if suitable, to go into the new occupation. Besides, many workpeople have, in addition to their normal occupation, one or more subsidiary occupations to which they can turn, if necessary. Such subsidiary occupations are indicated on the registration card which the employment exchange has on file, and when an employer asks for a worker in such an occupation, an applicant who has hitherto been engaged in a different kind of work may be submitted to the employer for approval. Movements of this kind from one occupation to

another take place constantly at all important employment exchanges. In addition to this normal activity of the exchanges, special measures have been adopted in certain countries to bring about a large-scale movement of workers into fresh occupations.

In January 1928, the *British* Government appointed an Industrial Transference Board "for the purpose of the transfer of workers, and in particular of miners, for whom opportunities of employment in their own district or occupation are no longer available." The report of this Board, which was issued in July 1928, showed that there were upwards of 200,000 coal miners, many of whom were married, who could not expect to earn a livelihood in the coal-mining industry in the future, and that there was probably a definite surplus of labour in the heavy industries, such as engineering, shipbuilding and iron and steel. The report recommended the adoption of a new policy directed to the permanent removal of surplus men and boys from depressed areas and industries to other areas with a more favourable prospect of employment. It urged the fullest use of the employment exchange system, public assistance for the cost of removal, the establishment of more training centres and oversea migration. In August 1928, the British Government appealed to employers to give work to people from the depressed areas, and considerable numbers of workers and young people were in fact transferred to other areas with a change of occupation between 1929 and 1931. It is partly due to the transference scheme that there has been a decrease in the number of insured coal miners in Great Britain, the total number being 1,044,000 in 1932 as compared with 1,164,000 in 1927. The table on page 144 shows the number of workers transferred to and from coal mining in the year 1928-1929.

An investigation carried out in Lancashire, on the other hand, shows that the industrial population in that district has been very slow in adjusting its size to changing industrial needs. This may be due to the fact that the industrial transference scheme was not applied to the cotton area until June 1930, when intensified depression made transference exceedingly difficult. The immobility of cotton workers is, however, attributed to several other causes. In the first place the majority of the workers in the cotton industry are specialised and they cannot enter into other skilled work without training. Secondly, most of the surplus labour consists of female workers, many of whom are married. Thirdly, the thriftiness of the cotton workers may be regarded as a hindrance to occupational movement. Houses which they own cannot be sold, and the workers are not willing to leave the neighbourhood in

which their capital is invested in the local cotton mills. Finally, the tradition of short-time working in the cotton industry tends to weaken the desire to migrate to other parts of the country.¹

TRANSFER OF WORKERS TO AND FROM COAL MINING,
GREAT BRITAIN¹

July 1928—June 1929

Industry	Transfers from coal mining	Transfers to coal mining	Net transfers from coal mining
Building and public works contracting ...	9,424	2,628	6,796
Transport and communication, fishing, etc. ...	2,391	563	1,828
Metal and metal goods manufacture ...	2,347	688	1,659
Engineering, engineers' iron and steel founding	2,045	575	1,470
Explosives, chemicals, coke ovens, etc. ...	1,328	213	1,115
Brick, tile, etc., making ...	1,230	622	608
Mining (other than coal mining) ...	1,077	237	840
Hotel and laundry services ...	1,051	110	941
Construction and repair of vehicles ...	815	190	625
Textile industries ...	787	380	407
Shipbuilding ...	537	91	446
Food, drink and tobacco ...	424	93	331
Rubber, and leather trades ...	419	26	393
Sawmilling, furniture and woodworking ...	273	103	170
Papermaking, printing, etc. ...	178	42	136
Clothing trades (including boots and shoes)	115	33	82
Commerce and finance ...	41	15	26
Other industries and services ...	6,300	1,871	4,429
Total ...	30,782	8,480	22,302

¹ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Nov. 1929, p. 396.

In a number of countries efforts have been made to place unemployed industrial workers in agricultural employment.

The authorities of the various States in *Brazil*, especially that of São Paulo, have taken measures to place urban unemployed workers in employment in agriculture. In the first ten months of 1931 the competent service in the State succeeded in transferring 47,063 workers from the capital to the interior for this purpose.

Similar schemes are in force in some of the *Canadian* provinces. Thus, in British Columbia, about 5,000 small parcels of land near Vancouver, which have come into the possession of the province because of non-payment of taxes, are allotted to unemployed married men who have had experience on farms. The Dominion Government has advanced \$200 cash to each settler and a similar contribution has been made by the provincial and municipal authorities concerned. Unemployed single men are also being

¹ BOARD OF TRADE: *An Industrial Survey of the Lancashire Area*, p. 127. London, 1932.

helped to establish themselves on small farms. The authorities of New Brunswick, Quebec and Manitoba are also aiding a back-to-the-farm movement in their respective provinces. According to a statement made by the Dominion Minister of Labour on 27 February 1933, 86,568 persons have moved from towns to farms in Canada during the past two years.

In *Great Britain* the Society of Friends, which has received a grant from the Government, proposes not only to provide allotments but to begin an experiment in establishing men permanently on the land.

§ 2.—Training Facilities for the Unemployed

During and after the war, efforts were made in many countries first to train workers for munition industries, and afterwards to place disabled soldiers in suitable employment after giving them instruction. The experience thus gained was utilised for retraining unemployed workers during the depression of 1921, and since then training schemes for adult workers unemployed have developed on an extensive scale in several countries.

There is generally close co-operation between the training schemes and the employment exchanges. In the first place the exchanges are the most natural agencies through which the training centres can obtain trainees. Secondly, when the trainee has concluded his period of training, the employment exchange again co-operates in finding employment for him.

In *Austria*, training workshops are associated with certain employment exchanges in Vienna. The courses are intended to train workers to specialise in those lines of work that are least overcrowded. For example, clerical workers are trained in comptometer operating, auditing, industrial statistics, book-keeping, taxation and tariff calculation, computing the exchange value of foreign moneys, and the psychology of salesmanship; shoemakers engaged in the making of ordinary shoes have been trained to make fine shoes; waiters are taught languages to enable them to work outside their own country, etc. Retraining for an entirely new occupation has only limited possibilities when almost all occupations have surplus workers. However, persons trained in courses for such occupations as engineering salesmen, time-keepers, advertising artists and writers, adding-machine operators and window dressers have been successfully placed. There are also courses designed to encourage workers to return to farms.¹

¹ M. R. CARROLL: *Unemployment Insurance in Austria*, p. 17. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1932.

In *Germany*, in virtue of the Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927, the Federal Ministry of Labour has organised training courses for unemployed workers. The object of these courses is, generally speaking, to maintain and increase the skill of the trainees, but the question of transfer from one industry to another is not lost sight of.

Training courses are available for both adults and juveniles. Special attention, however, is paid to workers under twenty-four years of age, who form an appreciable proportion of the total number of unemployed. According to a report recently submitted by the president of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance to the Minister of Labour, the Institution, in co-operation with other organisations and private enterprises, held 11,700 courses between 1 April 1931 and 31 March 1932 for the vocational training of unemployed persons under twenty-four years of age. More than 33,000 of these persons, 30 per cent. of whom were women and girls, took advantage of the courses. The weekly time-table varied from twelve to twenty hours and instruction took the form largely of practical work. Statistics covering eight State employment offices show that out of a total of 153,800 trainees of all ages, 6,800 of the men attended courses in agriculture, 24,000 courses for salaried employees, 59,500 practical courses in various manual crafts, while of the women 24,500 attended courses in domestic economy, and 39,000 other courses. It is of course difficult to determine the value of the courses until the general condition of the labour market has considerably improved, but in the case of certain trades in which the demand for workers has temporarily risen, it has often been found that applicants who have attended the vocational courses have been given priority.

Although bodies of the most varied character contributed to the organisation and financing of the courses by making donations in cash or in kind, the larger part of the expense—between two-thirds and three-quarters—was borne by the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

In *Great Britain*, training centres for the unemployed are of different kinds: (1) Government training centres; (2) instructional centres; (3) courses for women. Applicants for training are selected from among unemployed persons registered at the employment exchanges by a committee on which the centre concerned is represented.

The training in Government training centres lasts for six months and consists of courses in various kinds of manual work, such as

bricklaying, carpentry, wood machining, motor repairing, gas and hot-water fitting, etc. A certain number of agricultural courses were started for those who intended to migrate overseas, but during the depression these courses have been suspended. According to the Report of the Ministry of Labour for the year 1932, the total number admitted to training at all the home training centres from the time of establishment to the end of 1932 was 37,941, of whom 29,732 completed their course, or were placed in employment during the course. The number who passed into employment was 24,713.

In addition to these centres, the Government set up Transfer Instructional Centres with the object of restoring the physical and mental fitness of workers who are subject to prolonged unemployment, with a view to their transfer to employment in other parts of the country. As the depression makes it almost impossible to transfer workpeople on any considerable scale, these centres are now known as instructional centres. The instruction consists mainly of forest clearing, road-making, drainage, timbering, etc., and in addition a certain amount of indoor instruction is given in carpentry, boot-repairing and other useful work. In June 1933 there were ten such centres and five camps with accommodation for some 2,100 and 750 trainees respectively. Altogether 27,710 trainees were admitted to the instructional centres from their first establishment in May 1929 to December 1932.

Training is also given to unemployed female workers. There are two types of training provided : (1) domestic training in home-training centres; and (2) individual vocational training. In home-training centres, the training in domestic work is given to women and girls over the age of fifteen who are willing to enter domestic employment on completion of training. The centres are of two types, viz. non-residential and residential. The course of training is normally thirteen weeks and consists of general housework, cookery, laundry and needlework. Since the inception of the scheme about 55,000 women and girls have completed the whole or a substantial part of the training course. The Individual Vocational Training is provided for women who are suitable for employment of a kind other than domestic service, and the training includes shorthand and typewriting, comptometer operating, cookery, nursing, midwifery, and institutional housekeeping. Between April 1930 and December 1931, 245 persons completed training courses of this kind. In 1932, the number was greatly reduced.

In *India*, a scheme for retraining young educated workers is

being carried out by the Provincial Government of Bengal. The object is to give unemployed young men an opportunity of intensive training and a practical familiarity with new and improved processes in the local industries, such as jute and woollen textiles, umbrella-making, brass and bell metal-work, the manufacture of knives and other articles of cutlery, pottery, boots and shoes and soap-making.

In *Switzerland*, an Order was issued, during the crisis of 1921, authorising the Cantons and municipalities to make attendance at vocational courses compulsory for unemployed persons of all ages, and to discontinue relief to those who refused to attend. The courses were attended by more than 13,000 unemployed.

An Order of the Swiss Federal Council of 9 February 1932 made provision for the vocational training of unemployed workers and opened a credit of 300,000 francs for the purpose. The Cantons submit training programmes to the Department of Political Economy. The Federal subsidy may not exceed 50 per cent. of the total cost, but exception may be made for areas especially affected by the depression. When allowances are granted to unemployed persons whose change of occupation requires a change of residence, the Federal subsidy may amount to one-third of the expenditure thus incurred.

§ 3.—Dovetailing of Seasonal Employment

Dovetailing is a method of combating seasonal unemployment by placing unemployed seasonal workers in other work so as to neutralise the fluctuations in different seasonal industries. Among the many seasonal industries such as agriculture, fishing, building, hotels, fruit preserving, entertainments and sports, etc., it often happens that the seasonal slump in one of them corresponds to the rush season in another, and by transferring workers from the one to the other a continuous employment may to some extent be secured. For instance, in Great Britain some of the dock workers go to sea during the slack period at the docks, and dovetailing often takes place between agriculture and fishing.¹

Dovetailing of seasonal occupations is often arranged by the employers and the workers themselves, but the employment exchange system, with its wide network of exchanges, can do a great deal to assist.

In *Great Britain* special enquiries were carried out in September

¹ J. B. SEYMOUR: *The British Employment Exchange*, pp. 110-111.

1930 and in January 1931 in order to ascertain the extent to which insured persons engaged in seasonal work remain unemployed during the off-season. The investigations were based on the live registers of the employment exchanges. The result of these studies showed that at both dates the number of unemployed workers who had been engaged on work of a seasonal character was comparatively small. The total number of such workers at 8 September 1930 was 7,876 (3,313 men, 4,563 women), and at 19 January 1931 was 12,849 (4,356 men, 8,493 women).

The seasonal workers (men) were for the most part maltsters, salmon fishers, certain labourers, sugar beet workers, hotel and boarding-house employees, and persons associated with sports and games, and those among women were fish workers, jam and preserve workers, hotel and boarding-house employees, shop assistants, fruit pickers. According to the investigation the duration of seasonal work among men was on the average from sixteen to twenty-six weeks and among women about nine to nineteen weeks. Approximately 30 to 50 per cent. of the men and about 20 per cent. of the women were engaged in non-seasonal employment during the off-season. Among the principal non-seasonal occupations was that of navvying; a few of the salmon-fishers engaged in agriculture, in sea-fishing or as seamen. Among women, the workers in jam factories were engaged during the slack season in domestic service, while in the cotton textile area they worked as spinners and reelers. The women fish workers obtained work in private domestic service and as net-menders or weavers. The hotel workers were engaged during the off-season as factory hands in the cotton area or as shop assistants, waitresses and barmaids. Fruit pickers find non-seasonal work in a variety of occupations.¹

In the *United States* it has been estimated that there are between 375,000 and 400,000 industrial workers who are liable to be thrown out of work every year owing to seasonal factors.² The figure would be far greater if the seasonal unemployment of agricultural workers were added. In order to avoid discharges workers are often transferred from factories or departments where productive activity is slack to other factories or departments where additional labour is required. An example of the transference of workers between different factories is that of the National Cash Register Company and the Frigidaire Corporation in Dayton, Ohio, where an interchange of employees is carried out when one of the two

¹ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, Aug. 1931.

² E. S. SMITH: *Reducing Seasonal Unemployment*, p. 9. New York, 1931.

companies is dull and the other active.¹ In many factories special training is given to the employees to enable them to do two or more kinds of work. There are also many companies which transfer men who would otherwise be unemployed to do repairing, cleaning up or maintenance work in the same or other factories.

¹ E. S. SMITH: *Reducing Seasonal Unemployment*, p. 251. New York, 1931.

CHAPTER IV

LABOUR CLEARING

ONE of the most important functions which an employment exchange system has to fulfil is that of acting as a clearing-house for labour, that is to say of "ascertaining day by day, and throughout each day, particulars of vacancies which the various local offices are unable to fill from their own registers and particulars of workers who are suitable and available for transfer to other areas."¹

It has already been explained that the mobility of labour is of great importance. It is inevitable in a progressive society that certain industries decline and others expand, and these two sets of industries may be situated in different parts of a single country. Moreover, within each industry certain firms decline and others expand. This in itself renders it essential that steps should be taken to move workers as rapidly as possible from places where there is no work available for them to other places where there are vacancies. Indeed, it may be said that this need was one of the principal reasons for the setting up of employment exchanges in the various countries, and above all for organising or co-ordinating them on a national scale.

In the absence of employment exchanges it is very difficult for unemployed workpeople to know where to find work, and there may easily be a shortage of labour in one place at the same time as there is a shortage of jobs in the same occupation in another. But there is also another grave disadvantage of an unorganised labour market. If it is announced in the newspapers that work is to be commenced on a new building, or a new ship, or on any other kind of industrial activity, there is liable to be a rush of workers to the spot, at considerable trouble and expense to themselves, only to find that the jobs have been filled and all their trouble and expense are in vain.

Some account is given in the following pages of the various clearing systems in force. In the first place there are some statistics of clearing operations. Secondly, some particulars are

¹ "The Use of the Employment Exchange Service in Great Britain as a Labour Clearing-House," in the *International Labour Review*, Oct. 1931.

given of the general clearing organisation. After that, reference is made to the general technique and the procedure in the exchanges and the clearing-house respectively, and finally there is some information on provisions for the advance of travelling expenses to workers proceeding to other districts for employment.

§ 1.—Statistics of Clearing Operations

The following statistics show the numerical importance of labour-clearing operations.

In *France*, the total annual number of clearing operations, which from 1926 onwards amounted to more than 230,000, did not exceed 195,000 in 1931, as the result of the depression. These figures include only permanent placings of French workers, exclusive of temporary jobs in agriculture and placings of foreign workers. There were in agriculture alone more than 100,000 clearing operations in 1931, that is to say, 88 per cent. of the total number of agricultural placings during the same year. The total number of such operations effected within a single Department amounted in 1931 to 155,300 (116,814 men and 38,486 women), of which more than a half (80,248) were in agriculture. Placings effected directly by employment exchanges in localities outside their own Department numbered 28,070 in 1931 (21,233 men and 6,837 women), of which 11,459 were in agriculture. Finally, there were in the same year 12,360 inter-Departmental placings through the clearing organisation (10,610 men and 1,750 women), of which 8,414 were in agriculture.

In *Germany* the only statistics relating to clearing operations concern the placing of salaried employees and the transference of young unemployed persons from the towns to the country. With regard to the former, in the period from 14 January to 31 December 1930, 1,821 vacancies were notified to the national clearing-house and circulated in the *National Clearing-House Gazette* (supplement of the *Reichs-Arbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger*). With regard to the latter, 10,473 such persons were placed in agricultural situations in 1930 as a result of clearing operations.

In *Great Britain* during 1930, out of 1,732,144 vacancies filled by the exchanges, more than 300,000 were filled by means of the clearing organisation. Special attention is given to the clearing of specific kinds of vacancies, and some figures are also available in respect of these. Thus there are special arrangements for meeting the seasonal demand for additional workpeople at holiday resorts, and in 1931 17,846 vacancies of this kind were filled by applicants

from other districts. Similarly, special efforts were made in 1931 to improve the placing of agricultural labourers, and as temporary local shortages of labour were reported in some districts arrangements were made to bring suitable workers from other districts. Labour was supplied to growers of sugar beet, and out of 7,975 vacancies filled 1,040 concerned workers brought from other districts. Finally, there is the Industrial Transference Scheme for the transference of unemployed persons from the depressed areas to more prosperous parts of the country, about which more will be said later on. The number transferred in 1931 naturally showed a decrease as compared with 1929 and 1930 owing to the general industrial depression, but in spite of the unfavourable situation about 19,000 persons were transferred as compared with 32,000 in 1929 and 30,000 in 1930.

In *Italy* the total number of workers migrating from one commune to another in 1931 was 313,068 (229,241 men and 83,827 women), of whom 247,153 were proceeding to agricultural work and 65,915 to non-agricultural work. The majority of these movements were of a temporary character for the purpose of work in the rice fields, the wheat harvest, construction of roads, etc. Of the total number, 61·6 per cent. were effected through the employment exchanges (42·5 per cent. in 1930). A part of this movement, however, was of a permanent character and was intended to provide labour for agricultural development works. During the period 28 October 1931 to 28 October 1932 53,280 agricultural workers were transferred to, and established in, districts where agricultural development works were being carried on, as compared with 34,456 in the corresponding period of the preceding year.¹

In the *Netherlands*, the total number of workers placed from one commune into another through the employment exchanges amounts for the year 1931 to 19,110, viz. 16,537 men and 2,573 women.

§ 2.—General Clearing System

It is, of course, essential, if a clearing system is to work satisfactorily, that employment exchanges throughout the country should form a single system, properly co-ordinated at the centre. A single clearing-house in a large country is not sufficient, however,

¹ *Corriere della Sera*, 28 Feb. 1933.

and consequently subsidiary clearing-houses are set up in a number of smaller areas.

It may be possible to obtain the labour required without applying to the nearest clearing-house. It would be a waste of time to refer vacancies to a clearing-house before efforts have been made by direct application to neighbouring exchanges. The application may be made either by post, telegram or telephone, according to the urgency of the case.

If this procedure does not succeed, application must be made to a clearing-house. The area in which a clearing-house operates may be fairly large, and probably covers both urban and rural districts. It is convenient, however, to have smaller areas, which are more homogeneous in character, and which in Great Britain are known as intensive clearing areas. The importance of this system, which is a development of the group clearing system referred to above, is that if an employer asks for labour of a particular kind, he gets an offer after a short interval of the most suitable workpeople available not only in his own exchange area but in the whole of an intensive clearing area.

The next stage, if suitable workpeople have not been found by the above means, is to apply to the divisional clearing-house (in Germany it is called the State clearing-house, but in fact the divisional areas do not coincide with State territories) and finally to the national clearing-house, which makes the information available to every exchange in the country.

There are certain modifications of this system. Thus, in certain specific cases, exchanges which have a demand for labour of a particular kind may apply direct to another exchange in a different part of the country, when there is reason to believe that labour of the kind required is available, without passing through the clearing-house. This is done, for example, in trades which are concentrated in certain areas. In addition, special clearing-houses may be created for particular trades or industries. In fact, in countries in which the organisation of the employment exchanges is on an occupational basis, this is the normal arrangement. Neighbouring clearing-houses may also be associated for particular occupations and establish joint lists. And, finally, there is frequently a system by which certain urban exchanges are specially linked with particular seaside resorts for the purpose of clearing seasonal domestic vacancies.

In a number of countries special measures have been taken to provide for the transference of labour on a large scale from one part of the country to another, either through the ordinary

machinery of the employment exchanges or through special machinery set up for the purpose. Examples of the first kind are to be found in Great Britain and Canada, and of the second in Italy and the U.S.S.R.

In *Canada*, each province has its own clearing system. Some provinces have a single clearing-house, while others have a number of local clearing-houses. Thus the province of Ontario, for example, with thirty-five local offices, has six local clearing-houses and a central clearing-house at Toronto. There are also two inter-provincial clearing-houses, for the Eastern and Western provinces respectively, and, finally, a Dominion clearing-house at Ottawa. There was formerly a large movement every year from the East to the West for harvest operations; this movement was organised by the Employment Service. Since 1929, however, no harvesters have been required in the Western Provinces at all, in consequence of the introduction of combines and other forms of mechanisation.

In *France* there is a clearing-house in each Department and seven Divisional clearing-houses (*Offices régionaux de la main d'œuvre*). There is also an intensive clearing area in the Department of the Seine which includes almost the whole industrial area of Paris. Moreover, certain placings may be made by an exchange directly in an area situated in a different Department. The work of the Divisional clearing-houses is very important. They are directly attached to the Ministry of Labour, and the Government appoints the staffs and is responsible for the expenditure incurred. They are expected at certain times to direct special clearing operations, such as, for instance, the provision of seasonal agricultural workers at harvest time. There is a national clearing-house (*Service central de la main d'œuvre*) at Paris. Associated with the Divisional and Departmental clearing-houses there are seven offices for the control of foreign labour. Many of the foreign workers have been resident in France for many years, and these offices may, therefore, be considered as a part of the labour clearing organisation. They are situated for the most part in the same towns as the clearing-houses, but not entirely so. They have to see, among other things, that no foreign worker is sent to a Department without prior consultation of the Departmental or Divisional clearing-house concerned. The managers of local exchanges in each Division, and of the foreign labour services, meet periodically in conference in order to ensure the closest possible co-operation and to establish personal contacts among the managers. Similar conferences are held at Paris, the managers of the Divisional

clearing-houses and of the Foreign Labour Service being present.

In *Germany*, there are thirteen divisions (*Landesarbeitsamtsbezirken*), at the headquarters of which are the State employment offices. These offices conduct the clearing operations. For this purpose each State employment office establishes an information service (*Nachrichtendienst*). Neighbouring exchanges may be associated in an intensive clearing area (*Bezirksausgleichsstelle*). Exchanges which are at the headquarters of particular industries or trades may be designated as specialised clearing-houses (*Fachausgleichsstellen*) either for the area of a division or for a wider area. Neighbouring State employment offices (clearing-houses) may be associated for particular occupations and establish joint lists (e.g. the hotel industry). In special cases an employment exchange may, with a view to speed or to simplifying procedure, communicate direct with another employment exchange in whose area similar industries are situated. Such direct communication must not be restricted by the State employment office, or the national clearing-house, except for imperative labour market reasons.

In *Great Britain* there are about 1,200 employment exchanges and branch offices. The country is divided into seven divisions, each having a clearing-house at the divisional headquarters. Vacancies which cannot be filled locally are notified (1) direct to other exchanges in a "group clearing area," and if necessary (2) to the clearing-house of an intensive clearing area (adjacent exchanges formed into a single unit for placing purposes), (3) to the clearing-house of the division, and (4) to the national clearing-house for circulation to all exchanges throughout the country. In certain cases, application may be made by the vacancy office direct to another division where labour of the kind required is likely to be found, or particular exchanges may be linked up for certain purposes, as for example, the clearing of seasonal vacancies. There are three specialised exchanges which to some extent act as national clearing-houses for their respective occupations, namely, the hotel and catering trades, the building trades and women's work.

A scheme has been in operation since 1928 for the transference of labour from the depressed areas (principally the mining areas) to more prosperous districts. Since the end of 1929, however, the depression has spread to the whole country and the number of persons transferred has been greatly reduced. The ordinary clearing arrangements have been used, but in addition a special trans-

fer clearing-house was set up to deal with transfer vacancies so as to allocate the available vacancies between men already transferred whose work on a particular job was near completion, men from the instructional centres and suitable men still remaining in the depressed areas.

Moreover, a clearing-house is expected not only to perform clearing work in connection with vacancies notified for circulation, but also to conduct a systematic examination of the volume and character of registration and placing work in the employment exchanges. Thus, in order that the clearing work may be done as speedily as possible, exchanges send in regularly to the divisional clearing-house statements of surplus labour on their registers which is available for transfer to other districts. These statements are, of course, confined to occupations likely to be in demand elsewhere. The examination of the work of the exchanges is carried out on the basis of weekly and monthly returns. Thus, for example, if these returns show that placings in other districts are not considerable and there are a large number of vacancies available, this is evidence that labour clearing is not being effectively carried out.

In *Italy*, according to the Royal Decree of 6 December 1928, employment exchanges may, so far as their territorial jurisdiction is concerned, be either national or inter-provincial or provincial. Moreover, the Ministry of Corporations may require exchanges to establish branches wherever it may deem them to be necessary. The supervision of the exchanges and their co-ordination on uniform lines are exercised within each province by the Provincial Economic Council and these Councils have to "issue rules for the distribution among exchanges under its supervision of applications for and offers of employment remaining unsatisfied within the sphere of jurisdiction of each of the said exchanges." (Royal Decree No. 1003 of 29 March 1928.) Inter-provincial clearing operations are organised by the Ministry of Corporations in agreement with the Commissariat of Internal Migration and Settlement and the various departments concerned. This Commissariat was set up to investigate and distribute on a national basis the available supply of labour, with a view to its employment to the utmost advantage throughout the country and in the colonies.¹ It is financed by an annual State subsidy of 500,000 lire, which forms a special item in the Budget, a contribution from the special funds

¹ The Commissariat also has certain functions in connection with emigration to foreign countries.

of the Corporations, the amount of which is fixed annually by the Head of the Government on the advice of the Minister of Corporations, and an annual contribution of one million lire from the National Social Insurance Fund.

The Commissariat receives monthly reports from the Ministry of Corporations and the Provincial Governors, based on information communicated by the Provincial Councils of Corporations, the itinerant professors of agriculture, the agricultural economic observers, the trade unions and the employment exchanges, showing the demand for labour and the available supply in each province, the number of families who might be settled permanently in each province and the number of families available for transfer to other provinces. With the approval of the Ministry of Corporations, the Commissariat may apply at any time to the employment exchanges, the trade unions and all agencies for workers' welfare, for information as to the labour available throughout the kingdom. All public authorities, whether national or local, carrying out public works directly or indirectly, are required to notify the Commissariat of the amount of labour which it may be necessary to bring in from other provinces, the nature and extent of the works, their probable duration and the average number of workers who may be employed daily. Subject to the penalties laid down in the Decree of 29 March 1928, the labour required for any work subsidised by the State or executed on its behalf must be engaged through the employment exchanges with the approval of the Commissariat, which may require a part of the labour to be engaged in other provinces. The movement of groups of workers or families of settlers from one province to another is subject to the approval of the Commissariat, which may, with the approval of the Ministry of Corporations, require the revision or modification of the collective agreements in force in the provinces of destination in order to encourage migration and settlement. The Commissariat must ascertain that the groups of workers are composed of persons of suitable physique and training, and supervise the moral, hygienic and economic welfare of the migrants, taking the proper precautions as regards workers coming from regions in which epidemics are in progress.

In order to encourage the temporary migration of workers for employment on public works, whether executed directly by the State or subsidised by it, the estimates for important works may include provision for the housing of workers. To encourage land settlement, bonuses not exceeding 6,000 lire may be granted to families of settlers taking up permanent residence in a land

settlement area, with retroactive effect as from 28 October 1927.

According to a statement made by the Commissioner of Internal Migration and Settlement in the Chamber of Deputies on 6 May 1931, the Ministry responsible for public works had adopted the practice of forwarding to the Commissariat data concerning the nature of the work to be done and the number of workers it might be possible to employ, so that the Commissariat was kept constantly aware of the quantity of labour available and the opportunities for employment in the different districts and might thus carry out a scientific distribution of workers. The Commissioner added that the workers and their families were only recruited after a detailed enquiry into their occupational qualifications and their health. The object of the selection thus made is to avoid sending to settlement centres workers who are incapable of productive work or of surmounting the difficulties resulting from the environment and the nature of the work. An official of the Commissariat travels with the workers, helps them on the journey and supervises the enforcement at the place of work of the conditions agreed upon in the contract of employment.

In *Japan* there are about 450 employment exchanges. The country is divided into seven divisions, in each of which there is a divisional employment exchange which supervises and co-ordinates exchange operations in its jurisdiction. These divisional exchanges are linked up in a national system with a national clearing-house. Whenever there are several exchanges in a single town, one of these is appointed as a clearing-house for the area concerned. In Tokyo, which has more than twenty exchanges, a special clearing-house was established in 1931.

In the *Netherlands*, there are about sixty employment exchanges and about 1,000 employment agencies, set up by communes. The country is divided into forty-two divisions, and in each division a district employment office supervises and co-ordinates exchange operations in its jurisdiction. These district employment offices are linked up in a national system with a national clearing-house, which is directly attached to the Employment and Unemployment Service of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In *Poland*, the co-ordination of the different public employment exchanges is assured by the Central Clearing-House (Employment and Migration Section) of the Ministry of Social Assistance. The Central Clearing-House periodically receives reports from the employment exchanges showing what vacancies cannot be filled locally; it subsequently causes this information to be circulated

to all employment exchanges. The labour clearing services meets the individual requirements of specialised workers as well as the collective needs of agricultural and forestry workers and workers recruited for abroad. During the period immediately following the war, much good work was accomplished by placing in connection with the disbandment of large groups of demobilised soldiers, former prisoners-of-war, emigrants returning to their native country, etc. The reports of the Central Clearing-House concerning unfilled vacancies are brought to the notice of all public employment exchanges by broadcasting three times a week, in addition to which printed circulars are sent out once a week.

In *Switzerland* there are about forty principal exchanges and in addition there are a number of secondary offices set up by communes. The activity of all these offices is co-ordinated by the Federal Department of Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour. They are also members of an association of Swiss employment exchanges, the principal object of which is to hold periodical conferences for the consideration of any measures likely to improve the co-operation between the various exchanges. Within each Canton labour clearing is carried out by the cantonal employment exchange. Inter-cantonal clearing is undertaken by the Federal Department of Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour, or by direct co-operation between the cantonal exchanges themselves. There is a special clearing-house for commercial employees.

In the *United States*, each State has worked out its own system. There is comparatively little national clearing. The United States Employment Service, under the system in force prior to the adoption of the 1933 Act, maintained a Director in each State to co-operate with the State and municipal offices, and it was divided into separate departments for the building trade, mining and quarrying, manufacturing and metal trades, transportation, clothing and needle trades, office and mercantile trades, and also for the placing of seamen and longshoremen, farm workers and ex-service men. In these departments it did a certain amount of direct placing.

In the *U.S.S.R.*, as a result of the growth of industry and the tendency of peasants to remain on the land after the introduction of collective methods in agriculture, a shortage of industrial labour arose in 1931 and orders were issued authorising State undertakings to recruit labour directly in rural areas under the supervision of the organs of the Labour Commissariat. The industrial undertakings submit estimates of their labour requirements to the Labour Commissariat, and are assigned districts in

which they may recruit labour from among the poorer peasants, members of collective farms and day labourers. The rich farmers, known as "kulaki," may not be employed. Agreements are concluded between industrial undertakings and collective farms for the supply of labour. According to an Order issued by the Labour Commissariat on 21 September 1931, industrial undertakings pay collective farms 3 roubles for each worker supplied in certain areas and 4 roubles in other areas. If the worker is required to leave the area, the amount is increased by 1 rouble. For a time, prior to September 1931, undertakings were compelled to engage all labour through the staff offices (employment exchanges), but an Order of 13 September 1931 authorised all State, municipal, co-operative and public undertakings to engage workers directly without the intervention of these offices.

Internal migration and settlement are now organised as a part of the general economic programme. There is no longer any individual migration, either of peasants or of industrial workers or craftsmen. All movements of population are carried out on a collective basis, the unit being a collective farm, a whole village, a gang of workers, an association of craftsmen, a co-operative society, etc. Migration movements are organised and financed by the State for the purpose of colonising various remote areas or with the object of providing a population for the development of certain industries, such as the sugar industry which is being established in Western Siberia. In 1930, 72,000 colonists were settled in these areas, and the plans for 1931 provided for the settlement of about 80,000 or 85,000.

§ 3.—General Technique

In order that the above organisation may be made to work effectively, a highly qualified staff and a highly developed technique are required. The object of clearing operations is to transfer workpeople rapidly from one locality to another. This may in certain cases involve the payment of fares, or at any rate an advance of fares, and if the workpeople are unsuitable for their jobs it may be impossible to get the money back. There are, of course, other evils resulting from unsatisfactory placings. Both the employer and the worker will be dissatisfied, and will blame the employment exchange machinery. Besides, the worker will have been taken away from his home and means will have to be found of sending him back there or of obtaining another job for him on the spot. Consequently, it is of great importance that the worker

should be as suitable as possible, and yet he must be chosen in many cases without any actual interview with the employer.

Special care is needed in the placing of women and juvenile applicants in other districts. Moral considerations are of importance, and it is necessary for the vacancy office to have knowledge not only of the job offered, but also of the accommodation which the applicant is likely to find in the district. In Great Britain there has been considerable experience in the placing of juveniles in other areas, as, since the early part of 1928, a scheme has been in operation for the transfer of juveniles from the depressed coal-field areas to more prosperous parts of the country. As already pointed out (p. 134), over 15,000 boys and girls had been transferred up to December 1932. The scheme is considered to have been successful, and in spite of the industrial depression which now affects the whole country about 60 per cent. of the boys and girls transferred have settled down permanently in the new district.¹

Labour clearing involves, as the German regulations point out, speed, judgment, a feeling of responsibility and self-discipline. Speed is clearly desirable, because if an employer sends an order for workmen, even if they are of a kind rather out of the ordinary, it is important that applicants should be found with the least possible delay. Consequently, if suitable workpeople are not available locally, application must be made at once to other exchanges or to the clearing-house. Similarly, if workmen apply for employment when there is a chance of finding a vacancy somewhere, speed in notifying them of the vacancy is equally important. If an order for workmen or an application for employment is received in the morning, it should be possible within a very few hours to have information from exchanges over a wide area as to whether there is any labour or vacancy available, as the case may be.

In order to give precise and accurate information both to the employer and to the applicant for employment, the exchange officials must have a fairly detailed knowledge not only of the requirements of particular trades and industries, but of the general labour situation in the area covered by their exchange or clearing-house. The information on these matters must, moreover, be available on a standardised and uniform plan covering the whole country, so that, for example, the same term may always mean the same thing wherever and by whomever it is used.

¹ MINISTRY OF LABOUR: *Report on the Work of Local Committees for Juvenile Employment during the Year 1931*, pp. 24-25.

A feeling of responsibility is necessary because otherwise serious abuses might creep into the business of clearing labour. Thus, in Germany, special attention is drawn to the importance of not sending to another district labour which cannot be placed locally because employers refuse to accept it. Action of that kind would throw discredit on the whole exchange organisation and would cause a lack of confidence in the exchanges among both employers and workers.

§ 4.—Procedure at the Employment Exchange

When an employer sends into his local exchange (vacancy office) an order for a workman, the officials of the vacancy office go through their registers to see whether there is a suitable workman available with the qualifications asked for. Even if there is, application may in some cases be made to other exchanges in a group clearing area so that the employer may have a wider choice of applicant than would otherwise be the case. Application will normally be made by telephone, although it may in some cases be made by telegram or even by post, and a reply can be received in a short period. If by this means no suitable workman is found, or if there is serious doubt as to whether a suitable workman is available, application will be made to the clearing-house. This application may be made in many cases by post or by a message, or, if the case is really urgent, by telephone. It is, of course, essential that full particulars should be given in the clearest possible language so that no mistake should be made. Generally speaking, this information must include the number of workpeople, the precise nature of the work, any special qualifications required, the duration of the job, wages and hours (and particularly a statement as to whether the rate of wages offered is in conformity with agreements or custom), other conditions and arrangements *re* travelling expenses. Information is also given in many cases on such matters as the accommodation available.

At the applicant office full particulars of the post must be given to the applicant, and in many cases, in order to avoid misunderstanding, the latter is asked to sign a statement of the particulars so that there may be no doubt that he understands them. In countries with a compulsory unemployment benefit scheme in force, applicants may be obliged to accept any suitable employment offered, but even in such cases the consent of the applicant must be obtained before particulars are sent through to the vacancy exchange for the employer.

If a workman applies for employment, this fact is not as a rule circulated either to other exchanges or to the clearing-house, but if there is reason to believe that there may be a vacancy for him elsewhere either because a particular exchange has been asking for workpeople of the same kind or because the applicant has some special qualifications likely to be in demand elsewhere, information should be immediately sent through either to some other exchange or to the clearing-house.

In *Great Britain* an exchange which has received notification of a vacancy in another district, and which has apparently suitable applicants on its registers, must consult the applicants to know if they are willing to proceed to the job in question. If the vacancy office is close at hand the applicant may be sent direct to the employer. If not, full particulars must be sent to the vacancy office. As soon as the employer has come to his decision the exchange which submitted applicants must be immediately notified. No applicant must be sent to a job in another district until the applicant office receives an intimation from the vacancy office that he may go. The applicant must be given full particulars of the situation he is going to, and if he asks for a written statement of the terms and conditions of the vacancy this must be given to him. The applicant office should hand to the applicant an introduction card addressed to the vacancy office and when he arrives there he is sent on to the employer with a fresh introduction card. If the applicant is a woman, special care must be taken with regard to the availability of accommodation and particulars must be furnished concerning the nature of the lodging accommodation available. The woman should usually be put in touch with the local Employment Committee or any other accredited local organisation interested in the welfare of women.

In *Germany*, the vacancy office (*Aufnahmeamt*) takes full responsibility with regard to the post, and must obtain all necessary particulars concerning it. The office which has the labour available must take full responsibility for its suitability. Applicants who do not comply with the occupational, physical, or other conditions must be rejected out of hand. If the physical fitness of an applicant is doubtful, a medical examination must be held. If thought desirable, written particulars of the applicant and certificates must be sent to the employer. Full particulars of the post must be given to the applicant, and care must be taken that any dependants left behind are properly provided for. A card (*Zuweisungskarte*) is given to the applicant before his departure for a post ; in the case of the recruiting of a group of workers, a

list is drawn up and given to the leader. Leaders should be chosen from among persons accustomed to placing operations and they should know the details of the particular placing with which their group is concerned. The vacancy office must make arrangements for the reception of the workers, and must see, in particular, that they are able to obtain what they require in the way of food and lodging up to their first pay-day.

§ 5.—**Procedure at the Clearing-House**

When an application is received at the clearing-house it is dealt with immediately and transmitted to all those exchanges in the area which are likely to have labour of the kind required. For this purpose it is necessary that the clearing-house officials should have as accurate a knowledge as possible of the resources of the different exchanges, and some system must be devised by which the individual exchanges can inform the clearing-house regularly of the surplus labour available for transfer to other areas.

Discretion must be used as to the method of circulating vacancies, as this depends on the urgency of the order. If it is urgent, all communications will be carried on by telephone, but in other cases the information is sent by means of lists, special letters, or circular letters. In any case, it is essential that the clearing-house shall keep track of those vacancies which it has not been possible to fill immediately and shall communicate lists of such unfilled posts to the exchanges from time to time. Such lists may be circulated weekly, or even at longer intervals, but in that case daily supplements will be found useful.

Should the clearing-house be unable to fill a vacancy, and there is a possibility of an applicant being found in some other part of the country, information must be given to the national clearing-house, which circulates it to all exchanges throughout the country. This is usually done by means of lists circulated at weekly or fortnightly intervals, and supplementary daily lists may be sent in addition. It is convenient to divide the national clearing-house lists into sections showing separately, for example, men, women and juveniles, and distinguishing certain trades.

In *Canada a Clearing-House Bulletin* is made up at regular intervals, usually weekly, by the provincial clearing-house and circulated to all offices, and daily supplements are issued covering new items and cancellations. Each of the inter-provincial clearing-houses issues a monthly bulletin similar to the provincial bulletin.

The Employment Service of Canada also issues a bulletin monthly, known as the *Dominion Clearance Bulletin*, which goes to all the provinces and contains all those items which have been circulated in the East or the West and have failed of satisfaction.

In *France*, the *Bulletin du Marché du Travail* publishes information weekly with regard to applicants for work for whom no vacancies have been found and also unfilled vacancies. The information is classified by occupation and Department.

In *Germany*, the national clearing-house issues two lists, which are circulated weekly in the form of a supplement to the *Reichs-Arbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger* (List A for agriculture, domestic service and all manual workers ; List B for salaried employees). Vacancies for publication in List A must be sent through the State employment offices or the occupational clearing-house ; vacancies for List B may be sent direct by the vacancy office to the national clearing-house. In *Switzerland*, the lists circulated are similar to those in Germany.

In *Great Britain*, the national clearing-house issues a gazette once a fortnight and supplementary sheets are sent out daily.

In the *United States* the Federal Employment Service issues monthly an *Industrial Employment Information Bulletin* based on information sent in by the forty-nine State Directors. This gives information concerning the labour market, but is hardly to be considered as a clearing-house bulletin.

§ 6.—Advance of Travelling Expenses

Many applicants for employment would be unable to proceed to employment in another district without financial help towards the initial expenses. In some cases the employer may be willing to pay the fare, and this is one of the points which the vacancy office must always find out. But if he is not, provision is often made for the employment exchange to advance the fare, which can afterwards be refunded either by the applicant himself or by his employer.

In *Canada*, when transportation is paid or advanced by the employer, certain precautions are taken to ensure him against fraud. One way of doing this is to send the railway registration ticket for the worker's luggage direct to the employer or to the vacancy office. When groups of men are being transferred the employer often furnishes an escort, who approves the selection of the men in the clearing offices, takes them in a group to the

station, furnishes such food as may be necessary on the journey, buys all the tickets and then accompanies the group on the train and presents the tickets to the guard. When the employer pays the transportation expenses he may either deduct the amount from the wages of the worker and refund it again either after a period of satisfactory service or in the event of the worker's being discharged through no fault of his own, or he may pay the fare outright, or, thirdly, he may deduct the amount from the wages without any refund.

In *France*, vouchers are given to unemployed persons for whom work has been found at a distance, enabling them to obtain railway tickets at a reduced rate for the journey to their destination. Similar vouchers are given to unemployed persons who are returning to their home districts to re-engage in agricultural work, and in such a case they include the transport of the worker's family and of his furniture.

In *Germany*, the chairman of the employment office may defray part or all of the expenses of the journey if the worker has been found a job in another district, and also of the journey of his family, unless it is customary for the employer to meet these expenses. As long as the unemployed worker is unable to send for his family to join him at his new place of work the chairman of the employment office may decide whether they shall continue to receive all or part of the family allowance under the unemployment insurance scheme. If a group of workers leaves for another district, a leader may be sent with them at the cost of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

In *Great Britain*, employment exchanges are empowered to advance fares for the journey to the place where work has been found. Fares may also be advanced in certain circumstances to enable workers to proceed to employment found otherwise than through the exchanges. An undertaking must be given with respect to the repayment of the advance either by the employer or by the applicant. Care must be taken to avoid unduly encouraging rural labourers to migrate from the country into the towns. The advance must not exceed the amount required to pay the applicant's fare to the place of employment, and it is normally made in the form of a railway ticket, though in exceptional circumstances it may be made in cash. In the case of certain insured persons one-half of the amount by which the cost exceeds 4s. is paid from the unemployment fund. Certain special facilities, including an advance of fares to persons who satisfy the exchanges

that they have good prospects of obtaining work in another area, and assistance to workpeople desiring to move their families and household goods to an area where they have found employment, are granted to persons living in the areas where unemployment is heaviest.

CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONAL PLACING¹

ALTHOUGH the general economic depression has practically put a stop to migration movements, which had in any case been restricted since the war, there has always been a permanent stimulus to the migration of workers resulting from three main factors: fluctuations in the labour market, changes in industrial structure, and changes in the constitution of the population in different countries.

At the present time the aim of employment services in the international as in the national field is gradual co-ordination, and the chief question which arises is that of the measures to be taken for organising placing internationally to the best advantage of all concerned. States are recognising an ever-growing degree of responsibility in this matter of international migration, which is now regulated in every country, and these regulations have become stricter during the depression. Many States have got beyond the stage of regulation in the narrower sense and have even prohibited such movements more or less entirely or at least reduced the employment of foreign labour to a strict minimum.

In the following pages reference will occasionally be made to certain provisions which are now abolished or suspended on account of the exceptional economic circumstances of the present time. This applies, for example, to the system regulating the supply of foreign agricultural labour to Germany, no such labour having been admitted in that country since early in 1932. These systems are nevertheless mentioned because until quite recent times they were extremely important, and the German system might even be said to be a typical example of a highly developed organisation of international placing.²

§ 1.—Various Forms of Migration

International placing, like the migration movements with which

¹ See also *Migrant Agricultural Workers*, pp. 85 et seq.

² Cf. G. S. RABINOVITCH: "The Seasonal Emigration of Polish Agricultural Workers to Germany," in *International Labour Review*, Feb. and March 1932.

it deals, is far from being a simple and uniform problem ; it must be studied from a variety of aspects.

PURPOSE AND DURATION OF MIGRATION

The first distinction to be made refers to the purpose and duration of the migration. As a general rule seasonal or temporary migration is at the same time frontier or continental migration, and it is this form which has the most pronounced influence on the labour market. There is, however, a certain amount of seasonal migration to oversea countries, and, on the other hand, workers who emigrate to a country adjoining their country of origin often wish to settle there permanently. Nevertheless, emigration for a long period is relatively more common among oversea emigrants than among continental emigrants. These movements certainly influence the labour market, but to a lesser degree and less directly than temporary movements ; their importance is often greater from the point of view of colonisation, general economic development or population. The risk of a worker proving unsuited for the conditions of life or labour in his place of destination is generally greater the farther he goes from home, and special precautions must therefore be taken when recruiting labour in one continent for employment in another.

In *Spain*, for example, the regulations which previously applied to oversea emigrants only have, since 1924, applied also to workers proceeding to other parts of Europe or to Africa. In *Italy*, emigration policy, more especially since 1927, has aimed at facilitating temporary movements of labour and restricting permanent emigration. In *Czechoslovakia*, a permit, which is granted only in exceptional circumstances, is required for the engagement of workers for countries outside Europe. Similarly, the quota legislation adopted in the *United States* has led to a development of the frontier or continental immigration of Mexican or Canadian labour, which, until recently, was not subject to the same special restrictions concerning numbers, etc., as European labour. Sometimes, also, purely seasonal migration is dealt with in bilateral treaties or by means of standard contracts, particularly in the case of agricultural migration. These treaties or contracts may prescribe that the workers must return to their own country before a given date every year. Such provisions exist, for example, in the *German-Polish Treaty* of 24 November 1927 and the *Agreements* of 22 February 1928 between *Germany* and *Yugoslavia*, 11 May 1928 between *Germany* and *Czechoslovakia*, and 24 June 1925 between *Austria* and *Czechoslovakia*.

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE MOVEMENTS

From the point of view of placing it is very important to distinguish between the collective migration of workers and individual migration. It is obvious that the same methods of recruiting and placing cannot be applied indiscriminately in the two cases. While it is true that a worker emigrating alone may sometimes require more careful protection just because of his isolation, it often happens, on the other hand, that this emigrant has more initiative or has previous experience of proceeding abroad to earn his living. Frequently also an emigrant who goes alone has been selected by his future employer either directly or through a third party known to both. In any case it would seem easier to ensure a careful selection and fuller agreement between the qualifications of the applicant and those required for the vacancy, especially in the case of skilled jobs, when emigrants are recruited individually.

In many countries a growing tendency has been noted since the war towards international collective recruiting of labour. The reason for this is that recruiting on a collective basis can be much more easily supervised by the States concerned than individual recruiting, and also because the work of selection and placing is much simpler, especially for unskilled workers. These operations can therefore be carried out much more rapidly and cheaply—necessary conditions in view of the fluctuations which characterise modern industrial production. It is chiefly in the case of migration within Europe that a distinction is made in the regulations between individual and collective recruiting. As these regulations have grown stricter the original distinction between the two forms of recruiting has, however, become less marked.

In *Poland*, a special permit from the Emigration Office¹ is required for the collective recruiting of workers for employment abroad. This permit must clearly state the country of destination, occupation, number of workers to be recruited, district and date of recruiting. Applications for collective recruiting must also be approved by the competent authorities of the country of destination so as to ensure that they do not raise any objection from the point of view of the labour market. The recruiting operations in Poland must be carried out through the public employment exchanges.

In *Italy* since 1927 a contract of employment is required by individual emigrants, even for temporary emigration, as well as

¹ By an Order issued by the President of the Republic on 21 June 1932, the Emigration Office was abolished as from 1 July 1932, and its functions were transferred to the Ministry of Social Assistance.

by persons recruited collectively. The chief difference between the two cases is in the procedure for transmitting applications for Italian labour. Individual contracts are sent directly by the employers concerned to the Italian workers, whereas collective contracts are sent through the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At one time three separate methods of recruiting were permitted by the Italian regulations: the collective recruiting of a certain number of migrants, recruiting of migrants by name and a mixed system, the latter representing a combined application by a single employer for a number of workers and for certain individual workers mentioned by name. The number of persons mentioned by name was not permitted to exceed 50 per cent. of the total number required. Since 1929, however, the Italian authorities have refused to accept applications for individual workers by name unless in exceptional cases.

According to *Japanese* legislation, when recruiting is to be carried out collectively, the emigration agent must inform the local authorities of the districts in which this recruiting is to take place. Permission to recruit may be withdrawn if public order is disturbed, or if the requisite security is not forthcoming.

In *Germany*, the immigration of agricultural workers might be collective or individual until 1932. In both cases the operations were supervised by the Central Office for Workers (*Deutsche Arbeiter-Zentrale*). In the case of recruiting carried out in Poland, the authorities of that country exercised special control over individual recruiting so as to ensure that no fraud was perpetrated by commercial agents trying to make a profit by acting in the place of official recruiters, and that recruiting did not disorganise the labour market or social conditions in the districts of Poland affected.

Generally speaking, a considerable proportion of the agricultural immigration to Germany, and also to Austria, whether coming from Poland, Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia, took the form of migration by groups of workers under the leadership of one of their own number, often from the same locality. This system was confirmed by bilateral agreements between the authorities of the countries concerned. The method not only simplified the work of recruiting and transport but guaranteed greater uniformity among the workers in undertakings employing a large amount of foreign labour. On the other hand, it will be realised that if too many workers were recruited in sparsely populated areas the economic and social life of these districts might be seriously affected.

In *France* also the procedure for immigration differs consider-

ably according to whether the workers are recruited collectively or individually. The employer must fill up special application forms and the workers must sign different types of contracts in the two cases. The distinctions between individual and collective recruiting and placing are laid down in labour treaties or migration agreements.

The *Franco-Polish* Emigration and Immigration Convention of 3 September 1919 established two distinct systems for individual migration and for collective migration. Individual workers were comparatively free to leave the country or to enter it (except during a depression), subject only to police and health regulations. It was even stipulated that the official services of the immigration country should supervise the placing of workers immigrating individually without contracts of employment. In the case of collective migration a complex system of quotas, of selection in the country of origin and of engagement on the basis of standard contracts, was established under the direct supervision of the competent authorities. Since that time this machinery has been supplemented by a number of guarantees contained in the Protocol of the annual Franco-Polish Conference ; workers who migrate collectively are guaranteed certain legislative protection, certain conditions of housing, food and wages, repatriation, etc. The same applies to the *Franco-Czechoslovak* Agreement of 20 March 1930.

The bilateral labour treaties signed by France in more recent times show a noteworthy development in this respect. According to the *Franco-Rumanian* Treaty of 28 January 1930 a contract of employment duly signed by the competent authority must be produced by all migrants. A protocol to the Treaty contains special provisions governing applications for workers by name ; such applications must retain their special character and must not be turned from their essential purpose to the detriment of the labour market of the two countries concerned. Similar treaties concluded by France at later dates no longer use the terms " individual " and " collective," but substitute " recruiting by name " and " numerical recruiting." In the latter case the system is similar to that described above for collective recruiting. With regard to applications by name, it is provided that such applications, when approved, may be transmitted directly or through the employer to the workers in question (*Franco-Austrian* Labour Treaty of 27 May 1930), or simply that they must contain no clauses contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty (*Franco-Spanish* Labour Treaty of 2 November 1932). The *Franco-Czechoslovak* Protocol of May 1930 makes a distinction between the following

three types of application for workers : (1) applications by name from French undertakings constantly requiring Czechoslovak labour or engaging groups of more than ten workers at a time or normally employing more than 500 workers (applications of this type must conform to the standard contract in force) ; (2) applications which are merely occasional (these must be in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement of 20 March 1920) ; (3) those containing both collective and individual applications for Czechoslovak labour.

Summing up, it may be said that in Europe collective recruiting is always regulated by bilateral agreements. Moreover, it must be carried out on the basis of standard contracts which are more detailed than the contracts for individual engagements. The clauses of these contracts have a certain diplomatic significance as well as their value under private law. Generally speaking, collective recruiting regulated in this way gives greater guarantees to the worker as to the minimum standard of living in the country of destination and enables the employer to select the labour he requires. With the exception of the seasonal migration of agricultural workers in Germany and Austria, collective recruiting in Europe is almost entirely between countries situated at some distance from each other (Belgium or France and countries in Eastern Europe), whereas between neighbouring countries (for example, Belgium, Spain or Italy on the one hand and France on the other) individual recruiting is still extremely important.

THE QUESTION OF OCCUPATION

In international placing, just as in the case of placing within one country, the type of occupation is an important factor. The two most important occupational groups from this point of view are naturally agriculture and industry.

Agriculture usually requires foreign labour either in the form of a large body of seasonal workers for a short period to meet special requirements, or in the form of the gradual but more or less continuous immigration of selected workers. Moreover, agriculture, more than other branches of the economic system, can employ workers of both sexes and of various ages, so that there is usually a high percentage of families among agricultural migrants. Industry, on the other hand, uses foreign labour to meet special requirements, which vary according to whether the workers required are skilled or unskilled. There are a number of points of similarity between the recruiting of foreign workers for industry and for

agriculture, and similar legal problems arise. The necessity for co-ordination between the recruiting of foreign workers for industry and the movements of agricultural workers within, or to, the same country is obvious.

Nevertheless, in practically every case it has been found necessary to make a distinction between these two types of recruiting and to have special bodies dealing with industry and agriculture respectively. Most of the official bodies for the development of immigration deal chiefly with agricultural labour. This was the case up to the beginning of the present depression in the chief oversea immigration countries, such as Brazil, Canada, etc., which generally restricted their recruiting abroad to agricultural workers. They either took no part in the recruiting of industrial workers or merely regulated more or less strictly the admission or employment of such workers. In *France*, which is one of the few countries to organise and facilitate the immigration of large numbers of industrial workers since the war, the Government has set up certain national bodies to co-ordinate the whole of the labour market (Inter-Ministerial Immigration Committee and National Labour Council), and has also made two separate administrative departments responsible for the organisation and supervision of recruiting and the introduction and placing of foreign workers for industry and agriculture respectively.

For the recruiting and placing of workers in other occupations, such as commercial and other non-manual workers, special methods are often required. Sometimes these workers are recruited by individual contracts and sometimes along with groups of manual workers. In 1927 the *Italian* Government, for example, decided to encourage the emigration of non-manual workers (technical employees, liberal professions, etc.), considering that some of them might be used as a nucleus for the engagement of groups of Italian agricultural or industrial workers, for whom work could be found abroad. Since 1929 the Government has generally restricted the individual recruiting of workers to the engagement of certain specialists (engineers, works foremen, department managers, draughtsmen, etc.).

One form of international placing which is of particular interest from the occupational point of view, but which can merely be mentioned here, is the international exchange of young workers or probationers wishing to spend a short time abroad to improve their knowledge of languages or to become acquainted with commercial, industrial or professional practice in other countries. These movements of young workers, which were quite common

and unrestricted before the war, were severely affected by the regulations concerning the labour market adopted in most of the European countries. The Governments of these countries have concluded a number of special agreements for restoring and organising these exchanges of young workers. Most of the agreements fix a maximum number of probationers who can be admitted into the country, and when these workers have been permitted to migrate but have not found employment before their departure, facilities are granted for them to enter the country and seek a situation of the kind they desire. They are sometimes restricted to certain non-industrial occupations (hotels and restaurants, hairdressers, banks, etc.) and their application, which is facilitated by the help of the industrial associations, requires administrative arrangements and direct consultation between the appropriate employment services in the two countries concerned.¹

§ 2.—Methods of Recruiting and Placing and Organisations in Charge

The various types of migration not only differ in form, as has been seen above, but are also distinguished by the methods employed and the kind of organisations set up for the purpose. The same distinction must therefore be made between the various types of recruiting and placing. From this point of view the various methods of migration and recruiting so far practised may be classified in five main groups.

INDIVIDUAL SEARCH FOR EMPLOYMENT

This is one of the traditional forms of migration which has been made much more difficult by a variety of circumstances, but which still continues to exist, particularly in periods and districts where there is intense economic activity, as well as between neighbouring countries where it is easy to cross the frontier. Frequently, and more especially during a period of depression, this emigration on chance is considered as involving excessive risks for the emigrants or for the labour market and is restricted, or prohibited in consequence.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE BY INDIVIDUALS OR ASSOCIATIONS

It is a very old and deeply-rooted habit for immigrants to send information to relatives or friends in their country of origin and

¹ Cf. "International Exchanges of Young Workers," in *International Labour Review*, Aug. 1930.

even to act as recruiters for such persons. This method is highly appreciated by emigrants in a number of countries, as they are generally able to obtain, with the least possible trouble, accurate, practical and definite information as to general conditions and the possibilities of employment at their proposed destination.

In some oversea countries, and particularly in the British Dominions, voluntary associations or groups (religious, racial, patriotic, etc.) enter into negotiations with employers and the competent authorities so as to enable certain of their members or protégés in a foreign country to immigrate into the country in question with a view to settling and earning their living. In most other countries the work of these associations for the protection of migrants consists chiefly in giving information to emigrants and in finding posts for individuals abroad. They are generally encouraged by the competent migration authorities if they collaborate with the latter, or if the necessity is felt for facilitating the international movement of migrants and their families.

RECRUITING BY PROFESSIONAL AND COMMERCIAL AGENTS

One type of recruiting is by commercial or professional agents ("emigration agents," "recruiters," "crimps," etc.). This form of professional recruiting, which was very widespread last century, is now rapidly declining. There are, however, certain systems of recruiting still in force which are more or less similar to it. In the first place there is recruiting by land or sea transport companies, whose profits increase in direct proportion to the number of emigrants recruited and transferred to another country. The interests of these companies may sometimes run counter to those of the migrants, of the employers in the country of destination or of the emigration or immigration countries.

Commercial or professional recruiting may also be taken to include the services rendered on a commission basis by a relative or friend in the country of emigration or by a worker or foreman who recruits workers for an employer in search of labour.

DIRECT ACTION BY THE EMPLOYER

It is becoming more and more difficult for an employer in search of foreign labour to go personally to a foreign country and recruit the workers he requires. Such cases do still arise, however, particularly when the employer is a compatriot or a former compatriot of the workers whom he intends to engage.

It also quite frequently happens that an employer arranges with a foreign employee who has already been in his service to return

to him. If the previous engagement between the employer and the worker in question had come to an end, the worker is generally engaged by name in the manner described above. It may also happen, as was sometimes done in *Germany* in the case of Polish seasonal agricultural workers, that the employer and his worker, or workers, agree at the end of one season to sign a contract for the following season. Subject to the approval of the competent German and Polish authorities, the worker or workers thus engaged in advance may apply directly at a given date to the frontier station of the German Central Office for Workers, which sends them to their place of employment. In this way the employer pays no recruiting fee. A similar method has been practised by a number of agricultural and industrial employers in *France* under a system known as "seasonal holidays." When an immigrant worker wishes to return to his own country during the slack season, his employer, if he wishes to employ him again, gives him before his departure a certificate to the effect that he will be re-engaged in the undertaking when he returns to France for the next season. On his return the worker is admitted without any formalities or further permit, provided that he can show to the French authorities, in addition to the certificate from his employer, his identity card as a foreign worker and a letter from his employer endorsed by the competent Ministry. This endorsement is not given unless the situation on the labour market is such that the return of the immigrant can be permitted.

Direct action by the employer may also cover advertising in an emigration country, either by newspaper advertisements or by posters.

RECRUITING BY DELEGATES OF THE EMPLOYER

Some large undertakings occasionally appoint a representative, who may be their personnel manager, to recruit workers abroad. This method is theoretically likely to give the most satisfactory selection of workers, but it is rarely practised because of the loss of time and money which it involves for the undertaking concerned. In certain countries at least it is much commoner for the employer to instruct a foreign worker or foreman who is coming to work on his own account to recruit other workers in his district of origin and, if necessary, to interview and select the workers himself. He is paid a certain fee for doing so. It is by this method and with the help of such recruiters, who are known as "kanganies," that most of the employers in the Federated Malay States and in Ceylon obtain the large supplies of Indian labour which they

require. But by far the most important form of recruiting by employers' representatives is done by joint organisations set up by a number of employers for the recruiting of workers abroad and the transport of labour for undertakings belonging to the group.

There are a number of these organisations, representing several employers, at work in many countries and in different continents. In *Brazil*, for example, the authorities have granted licences to certain recruiting organisations which bring foreign workers to the country for groups of agricultural or industrial employers. In *South Africa* the recruiting of natives from Mozambique, their distribution to various undertakings and their repatriation when their contracts expire, is carried out by industrial associations approved by the competent authorities in accordance with an agreement drawn up between South Africa and Portugal on 11 September 1928. The recruiting of workers in Southern *India* for employment in Ceylon has been organised by the Ceylon Planters' Association.

In *Germany* the Central Office for Workers, which is an organisation set up by the associations of agricultural employers, and subsequently turned into a joint organisation, has been granted extensive administrative powers for the recruiting of foreign workers. It is responsible, within the limits of the agreements entered into by the German Government with countries of emigration and of the existing regulations, for recruiting and selecting foreign workers for employment in German agricultural undertakings. It also has other duties of great importance, such as the issue of identity cards (*Legitimationskarten*) to immigrant agricultural workers, the distribution and repatriation of these workers, etc. The Central Office is permitted, in order to cover its expenses, to charge fixed fees to employers using its services, but it is prohibited from working for profit.

In *France* a considerable proportion of the general immigration and practically all the collective immigration is in the hands of organisations set up by certain groups of employers. These organisations, after being approved by the competent authorities, are responsible for the selection, housing, transport, etc., of foreign workers for whom application has been made to them by the employers. The Decree of 20 April 1932, which contains the revised regulations for these recruiting organisations, mentions: (1) co-operative societies, associations and occupational or inter-occupational organisations of employers of foreign labour which do not seek to carry on these operations

for gain and are not allowed to make profits in excess of a fair return on the capital invested under the conditions prescribed by the schedule ; (2) as an exceptional measure, companies specially formed for the recruiting and transport of foreign or colonial workers, on condition that they do not carry on any other activity and that they limit their profits under the same conditions as the previous group, together with transport companies.

Recently there were in France four groups recognised in accordance with these regulations for the recruiting, selection and transport of foreign workers.¹ In accordance with the Decree referred to, these organisations are carefully supervised as regards accounts and the scale of fees charged, and it is further stipulated that when the balance-sheet for any year shows a surplus it must either be distributed among the members or handed over to a committee of representatives of the agricultural and industrial employers using the services of the organisation. Provision is also made for a revision of the scale of fees when circumstances make it necessary. The organisations in question may be called upon to pay a share of the cost of supervision of the observance of immigrants' contracts by the public authorities and the expenses of the general secretariat of the Permanent Inter-Ministerial Immigration Committee. The competent Ministries must take all necessary steps to ensure that the authorised representatives of these organisations abroad are given every facility for carrying out their tasks.

VARIOUS RECRUITING ORGANISATIONS

Mention must be made of certain organisations which take an active part in recruiting but which cannot be classified exactly under any of the above heads.

Of these the most original are the emigration societies set up by a *Japanese* Act promulgated in 1927.² The aim of these societies, which are based on co-operative principles, is to encourage the emigration of Japanese nationals desirous of establishing themselves abroad as agricultural settlers. The societies have the same

¹ Of these groups one was a transport company and two others organisations of employers for certain industrial groups (forges and iron mines in the east of France, and building, public works and building materials). The fourth and most important was the General Immigration Society, which has established services for the selection and transport of workers in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, Lithuania, Spain and Portugal, and which brought about 1,200,000 immigrants to France from 1923 to 1929. It is a limited company with a capital of 20 million French francs, organised chiefly by the metal and mining companies and a certain number of agricultural associations.

² See *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 1.

privileges and are subject to the same legal supervision as ordinary co-operative societies in Japan. On joining one of the societies, future emigrants become entitled to the fullest information and widest assistance possible when migrating overseas. Since the Act came into force, eighteen emigration societies have been formed in various parts of Japan, all these societies being affiliated to a central organisation—the Federation of Co-operative Emigration Societies—which has acquired in Brazil land, housing quarters, shops and other buildings for the benefit of affiliated members. Between 1927 and 1932, 1,900 Japanese emigrants were established in Brazil, thanks to the initiative of the societies in question.

For many years back transport companies have made a close study of the formation and growth of migration streams and a number of them have played an active part through the medium of their branch offices in the recruiting and placing of migrants, whenever this was possible under existing laws and regulations. Their activities were in many cases restricted by law and even prohibited, but several countries have confined themselves to restricting their powers while others have entered into agreements with companies of this type to organise, under a certain degree of supervision, the recruiting of foreign labour and the placing of emigrants.

In *Canada*, the Government concluded an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railway for the purpose of promoting immigration of certain categories of European workers. The number of immigrants admissible under the agreement was progressively reduced, and in 1930 it was terminated by the Government. According to the agreement, which was drawn up on 1 September 1925, between the Canadian Government and the two Railways, the latter undertook to use their best efforts to procure in certain European countries emigrants who were agriculturists, agricultural workers or domestic servants. They agreed not to take to Canada any migrant who was not admissible under the Canadian regulations and to repatriate any immigrant brought by them who refused to engage in one of the occupations referred to, and who therefore became a public charge within a year of his arrival. These Canadian Railways established recruiting and selecting agencies in a number of the more important European centres and entered into agreements with the competent authorities in those countries.

In *Japan*, a limited liability company, the "Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha" (The Oversea Settlement Company) with a capital of 9 million yen, which was formed in 1917 by the amalga-

mation of two older authorised emigration agencies and backed financially by a number of commercial concerns, including two large shipping companies, not only receives annual subsidies from the Government but has also the virtual monopoly for the recruiting and placing of Japanese oversea migrants. The company has also been recognised in Brazil by a Decree published by the Brazil Federal Government towards the end of 1918. It has opened offices in a number of districts in Japan which carry on publicity work in favour of emigration, make the necessary arrangements for the departure of emigrants, advance the cost of their passage, etc. In a number of immigration countries, and more especially in Brazil, the company owns its own land, and has branch offices for the reception and the placing of immigrants transported by its services, who, on their arrival, are sent to employment found for them in advance. At the end of 1932, 112,167 Japanese had been transported and placed in employment in oversea countries through the services of the Company.

RECRUITING BY THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

In many emigration countries the legislation prohibits recruiting by private undertakings and grants a monopoly of such work to the public authorities.

In *Poland* the placing of Polish workers abroad is, as a general rule, carried out entirely by the public employment exchanges under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Assistance (formerly by the Emigration Office). The Emigration Convention between France and Poland of 3 September 1919 permits officials or representatives of employers of the immigration country to select workers from among those put forward by the public employment exchanges in Poland, but reserves a monopoly of the actual work of collective recruiting for the employment exchanges.

By the Franco-Polish Protocol of 17 April 1924 the Polish authorities reserved the right to appoint officials to be present when any operations were being conducted, outside French territory and under the supervision of the official labour mission sent by France to Poland, by employers' delegates recognised by the French and Polish Governments. The operations referred to include medical examination, vocational selection, and the engagement, housing, entraining and transport of the workers until they arrive in France. The officials appointed by the Polish authorities are not permitted to interfere with these operations, but they are naturally in a position to report to the Polish Emigration Office (at present to the Ministry of Social Assistance),

which takes any action which may be necessary. It was also agreed that private welfare associations could get in touch with the employers' delegates and offer their services to immigrants. Similar provisions regulate the relations between the German and Polish organisations for the recruiting of Polish seasonal workers. According to the supplementary agreement of 24 November 1927 between Germany and Poland, recruiting in the strict sense of the term, that is excluding the engagement of individual workers by name, is entrusted to representatives of the German Central Office for Workers operating in agreement with, and in the presence of, representatives of the Polish employment exchanges.

Similar rules are applied in *Czechoslovakia*, where the Emigration Act stipulates that when, as an exceptional measure, Czechoslovak workers are engaged for employment outside Europe, they must be recruited through the public employment exchanges. In *Italy* the authorities have not permitted the establishment of foreign recruiting missions, and the placing of workers abroad is carried out by the public authorities, including the employment exchanges and the Commissariat for Internal Migration.

In *Great Britain* special arrangements are made in the employment exchanges to deal with all men and women who make enquiries on the subject of oversea settlement and employment, and men and women officers are specially appointed in each exchange to do this work. Local employment committees have been asked to advise and assist the exchanges in all matters relating to oversea settlement and employment and to arrange for interviewing applicants. Exchanges must not proceed to fill any oversea vacancy until authority has been given by the Oversea Employment Branch of the Ministry of Labour.

Immigration countries, on the other hand, have rarely set up official recruiting bodies in foreign countries. This fact may be explained by the risk of infringing national sovereign rights when one State takes action within the territory of another, and also by the idea that the most practical method of recruiting, and more especially of selecting, the immigrant workers required was to leave the task to the future employers or to employers' organisations in the industries concerned. At certain times, however, important recruiting operations have been carried out by public services.¹ These examples were not followed up, and in most

¹ In France during the war a number of public administrations brought about half a million foreign, colonial or Asiatic workers to the country. After the war the Ministry for Devastated Areas sent an official French mission to Poland to recruit workers and to be responsible for the medical inspection of the emigrants and their selection in accordance with their capabilities.

immigration countries the public authorities have given place to employers' organisations or to special organisations for collective recruiting, while recognising their duty of exercising general supervision. The bilateral labour treaties concluded by *France* with European emigration countries have, however (with the exception of the Franco-Italian Treaty of 1919), asserted the principle that the immigration country is entitled to select emigrants through an official mission. In certain cases the missions sent to emigration countries by the French Ministry of Labour have been instructed to select workers themselves in accordance with the employers' demands when the employers did not wish to use the services of professional recruiting bodies. The French Ministry of Agriculture, in agreement with the authorities of the countries concerned, has also organised the recruiting, occupational selection and medical examination of agricultural workers in Czechoslovakia and Rumania for employment in France.

Although public administrative bodies, at least in immigration countries, have so far taken little part in the actual operations of recruiting, selection and transport of workers from one country for employment in another, it is admitted that the State is entitled to lay down certain rules for the conduct of these operations and to supervise them carefully. Many States even consider that they have a particularly important duty to fulfil in this respect and have adopted detailed legislation or regulations on the subject or concluded diplomatic agreements or administrative arrangements with other countries. It should be noted, however, that practically all the agreements of this kind have been between European States. The most noteworthy exception is the agreement signed on 19 February 1927 between the competent authorities of the State of *São Paulo* (Brazil) and *Poland*. This administrative agreement, governing the emigration of Polish families for permanent settlement in colonisation centres in *São Paulo* as wage-earning workers, is particularly interesting because it establishes and elaborates in detail a procedure and methods to be followed by the administrative authorities of the two countries.¹ The agreement has, however, not been ratified and consequently is not in force.

Agreements have been concluded by *Great Britain* with the Governments of *Australia*, *New Zealand*, *Canada*, and *Southern Rhodesia* for the provision of financial assistance to approved

¹ Cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : *Migration Laws and Treaties*, Vol. III, pp. 164-166.

migrants proceeding from Great Britain to the country in question. The migrants are in some cases nominated by residents in the oversea country, and in that case they must be approved by the representative of that country in London. In other cases, they are selected by the representative of the oversea country from among the total number of applicants.

There is no place in this study for a systematic analysis of the provisions concerning migration referred to above, for their scope is much wider than the mere technical problems of recruiting and placing. It must suffice to give a brief account of the special official bodies set up in accordance with the bilateral agreements in question for the organisation or supervision of the recruiting or placing of migrant workers.

In 1919 the International Labour Conference recommended to Members of the International Labour Organisation "that the recruiting of bodies of workers in one country with a view to their employment in another country should be permitted only by mutual agreement between the countries concerned." In 1921 the International Emigration Commission laid down a number of principles to serve as a basis for agreements on collective recruiting. One of these principles was that recruiting should not disturb the labour market of the emigration country or of the immigration country concerned. All the international agreements on migration since 1919 have taken account of this principle and contain provisions for giving effect to it.

Section 5 of the *Franco-Italian* Labour Treaty of 30 September 1919 stipulates that "the signatory Governments agree to ensure that workers shall not be recruited collectively in such numbers as to prejudice the economic development of the one country or injure the workers of the other. For this purpose they shall appoint a commission which shall meet, as a rule, at Paris at least twice a year." The chief duty of this committee, according to the Treaty, is to estimate the labour requirements and possibilities of employment in the two countries. The *Franco-Polish* Convention of 3 September 1919 contained the following clause: "The two parties are to fix by agreement the numbers and classes of workers, parties of whom may be recruited, in such a way as not to prejudice the economic development of one country or the interests of the workers of the other country. For this purpose the Governments shall appoint a commission which shall meet at least once a year in Paris and Warsaw alternately." This clause was reproduced word for word in agreements of the same kind subsequently concluded by *France* with *Czechoslovakia* (20 March 1920), *Rumania*

(28 January 1930) and *Austria* (27 May 1930), except that the reference to recruiting by "parties" was replaced in the first case by "organised recruiting" and in the other case simply by "recruiting." The Labour Treaty signed on 2 November 1932 by the *French* and *Spanish* Governments contains no provision for the creation of official committees of representatives of the two Governments to deal with the recruiting of labour. As the various agreements came into force the working of the mixed committees has gradually been developed. At its session of March-April 1924, for example, the Franco-Polish Conference found that certain questions before it would have to be solved by definite and detailed technical arrangements requiring the collaboration of specialists.

In *Germany*, the immigration of seasonal agricultural workers was regulated by a system of quotas fixed every year by agreement with the competent authorities of the emigration country. Until 1932 a conference of representatives of the competent authorities in Germany and Poland met towards the end of January every year to fix definitely the quota of seasonal agricultural workers who might emigrate from Poland to Germany.

The administrative agreement drawn up on 24 June 1925 between the competent Ministries of *Austria* and *Czechoslovakia* provided that annual conferences should take place to decide the clauses of the standard agreement for the engagement of recruited workers. The conference responsible for this task must contain representatives of the Austrian and Czechoslovak Ministries concerned, the recruiting organisations of the two parties, the Czechoslovak Consul-General in Vienna and, as a rule, representatives of the associations of Austrian employers and Czechoslovak workers chiefly concerned.

Among the numerous treaties or agreements concerning recruiting in Europe the Austro-Czechoslovak agreement is the only one which makes provision for the direct participation of the workers' organisations in the preparation of recruiting operations. Generally speaking, only the employers or employers' organisations concerned are called upon to take an active part in this work. On the other hand, in accordance with the Recommendation of the International Labour Conference quoted above, the organisations of workers as well as employers are frequently consulted as to the main lines of policy for international recruiting and placing.

In *France* a National Labour Council has existed since 1925 for the purpose of advising on all measures for ensuring the stability of the labour market, including measures for controlling and supervising the recruiting, introduction and conditions of employ-

ment of colonial and foreign workers. This body is under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, or, failing him, the Minister of Labour, and contains equal numbers of representatives of Parliament, the Ministries concerned, and of the employers and the workers chosen from among the most representative organisations in industry and agriculture. In *Germany*, applications for seasonal agricultural labour from abroad are examined, first of all, by joint committees selected from among the boards of management of the local employment exchanges and, in the last instance, by a technical agricultural commission attached to the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance; this commission contains an equal number of representatives of agricultural employers and workers.

Similar organisations exist in most of the European emigration countries. In *Czechoslovakia* a Permanent Emigration Council attached to the Ministry of Social Welfare and consisting of representatives of employers and workers, as well as of the public authorities and various other organisations, advises the authorities on all questions concerning emigration, immigration and re-emigration. In *Great Britain*, the Oversea Settlement Committee, which consists of representatives of various Government departments, of voluntary societies and of other interests concerned with migration, is entrusted with the task of promoting and supervising migration to the Dominions. In *Hungary*, the Emigration Council, which advises the Government on this question, consists of a certain number of members of Parliament together with representatives of various agricultural and industrial employers' organisations and workers' organisations. In *Poland*, the National Emigration Council, which was formerly attached to the Ministry of Labour as an advisory body on questions of immigration and repatriation as well as emigration, contained not only representatives of the Ministries concerned but also representatives of the workers' organisations.¹

In many countries the work of private social and charitable organisations for the protection of migrants is officially recognised and representatives of these associations may be invited to act on the advisory bodies enumerated above.

One important question concerning international recruiting and placing has still to be examined: the problem of the contract of

¹ The Emigration Council was abolished at the same time as the Emigration Office.

employment. As was pointed out above, the possession of a contract of employment has been made compulsory only at quite recent dates since the war and was applied for a long time only to workers migrating within Europe. The first labour treaties concluded by *France* with *Poland*, *Italy* and *Czechoslovakia* expressly stipulated that workers immigrating individually to *France* need not have a contract of employment and that the French frontier posts and public employment exchanges must make efforts to find employment for them. As a rule, the bilateral treaties signed by *France* stipulate that the emigration country undertakes not to place obstacles in the way of its citizens who wish to go to the other country to find employment. From the beginning of 1930, however, these agreements have stipulated that emigrant workers, whether recruited or engaged individually, must, when leaving their country of origin and arriving at the frontier, produce a contract of employment endorsed by the competent Ministries of the two countries. Many other countries (*Czechoslovakia*, *Denmark*, *Great Britain*, *Sweden*, etc.) also require immigrants to show a contract of employment or some equivalent document, which must generally have the visa of a competent authority. This visa is given only on condition that the employment of these foreign workers and in some cases their conditions of work are not likely to prove harmful to the workers of the country to which they are proceeding.

A parallel trend can be traced in a number of emigration countries in Europe. In *Italy*, since 1927 workers are prohibited from going abroad to take up employment unless they have a proper contract of employment duly approved by the Italian authorities abroad and within the kingdom; this contract is compulsory for individual as well as collective emigration. The contract is approved by the authorities only after an enquiry has been carried out by the consuls abroad as to the state of the labour market and the economic and social conditions offered to the emigrant. An exception to this rule has been made, however, in the case of emigration to the United States, since the legislation of that country prohibits immigration under contract. In *Poland*, workers emigrating to another European country must hold a contract of employment approved by the competent authorities abroad and in *Poland*. In *Spain*, labourers and other unskilled workers are not permitted to emigrate to countries suffering from economic difficulties unless they can produce a contract guaranteeing them reasonable remuneration and normal conditions of employment.

As the economic situation has grown worse, this obligation to obtain a contract of employment in advance has extended from Europe to oversea countries, as, for example, *Palestine* and *Mexico*. The Republic of *Argentina*, by Decree of 20 November 1932, has now prohibited the immigration of workers not in possession of a contract of employment, and Argentine consuls abroad have been instructed to refuse a visa to immigrants who cannot produce documentary evidence that suitable employment has been promised them in the country.

Various objections have been made to this method of international recruiting and placing on the basis of a compulsory contract of employment. As has been seen above, it was not without a certain hesitation that many countries, even in Europe, adopted this system, either because they feared that any further obligation would restrict the facilities for the movement of labour and the numerical importance of migration movements, or because they wished to safeguard as far as possible the freedom of emigrants and refugees to move from one country to another. In many oversea countries the opposition to the system of the contract of employment is much more stubborn and of older date. In the *United States*, *Australia* and *Cuba*, for example, the legislation expressly prohibits workers who have already a contract of employment from entering the country save in exceptional cases. These provisions are the result of a very widespread general opinion gained in the light of numerous experiments in the introduction of labour under guarantee, frequently with unpleasant results for the immigrants themselves, for the labour market, or for the community as a whole. It is feared that the clauses of such a contract of employment concluded far from the country of destination, and in almost complete ignorance of its conditions, may not be in harmony with these conditions and may prove detrimental to workers of the country, who will thus be exposed to the competition of cheap foreign labour. These objections are of undeniable importance, particularly where a worker who emigrates runs a serious risk of finding himself stranded and left to his own resources far from his country of origin. It is not suggested that they constitute an argument against the wider adoption of the principle of the compulsory contract by a number of emigration and immigration countries. These countries have met the disadvantages of the system by defining as closely as possible the rules and conditions which must be observed in the contracts of employment of workers who migrate. Thus, all the labour or migration treaties or administrative agreements in Europe are

supplemented by a standard contract giving a very detailed outline of the future contract of employment and leaving blank only those sections which must be filled up with an exact statement as to certain conditions of wages, etc., or certain individual or exceptional clauses. While independent contracts of employment, whether individual or collective, drawn up in due form between emigrants and their future employers in accordance with the existing legislation, can be used in the competent courts to confirm the immigrant's rights, the contracts drawn up in accordance with a standard contract have a still greater value. By combining them with the agreements which they have concluded, the States concerned show that they apply throughout their territory without any risk of their being invalidated by some previous legislative provision or regulation. The States at the same time undertake to see that these contracts are enforced. As a rule, moreover, the contracts themselves expressly stipulate that if a dispute should arise between the worker and his employer it must be submitted to a special authority, mentioned by name in the contract, who is responsible for conciliation or arbitration in such disputes.

Generally speaking, the States which have made it compulsory for migrants to have a contract of employment are those which have entered into treaties or bilateral agreements with other countries. They considered that such an obligation was indispensable if they were to carry out the promises given by them in these treaties. Moreover, the system of compulsory contracts was thought to be an effective means of restricting the exodus of emigrants or the excessive influx of immigrants on an overcrowded labour market. It should also be noted that the system of the standard contract, which was originally intended to apply only to the collective recruiting of labour, is tending more and more to cover individual recruiting ; the applications for workers in such cases, and the contracts concluded between them and their employers, must both conform to certain models drawn up by agreement between the authorities of the two countries.

§ 3.—The Machinery of Organised Recruiting and Placing

The very varied forms of recruiting and placing described in the preceding pages have as a corollary a great variety of methods. It is impossible within the scope of this study to give a systematic analysis of each of these methods. A description will therefore be given only of the main features of the recruiting system in its

most complex form : collective recruiting on the basis of bilateral labour agreements of the type concluded since the war by Germany and by France with European emigration countries. As far as possible mention will be made only of operations or methods which differ appreciably from those employed in local placing or clearing operations within a single country.

ESTIMATING THE LABOUR DEMAND

The point of departure for any organised international recruiting operation is to estimate the labour requirements to be met. Even at the first stage, that is, within the undertaking for which the labour is required, this operation, simple as it appears, raises a number of complex problems which it is sometimes difficult to solve simultaneously. The employer will generally be anxious to know, first of all, what degree of occupational skill will be possessed by the workers from the country of emigration, what will be the cost of the formalities and the necessary recruiting and transport operations, what demands will be made by the workers from the point of view of wages, conditions of work, housing conditions and, possibly, food, for what period these workers will remain in his employment, and what space of time will elapse between his application and the day when the workers arrive at the undertaking to start work on the orders which the employer has received, or to perform the work of cultivation or harvesting, which cannot be postponed beyond its due season.

When the employer has come to a decision, he must submit his application in writing on a special form, giving details on a number of important points, such as the conditions of remuneration, employment and general living conditions, the number and qualifications of the workers required or the type of work to be performed. For this purpose he must use a standardised application form prepared by the competent authorities in his own country. In *Germany* the country from which the workers are to be recruited¹ is determined by the authorities and by the German Central Office for Workers, usually some time after the employer has submitted his application. In *France*, on the other hand, it is the employer himself or his agent who decides at the outset from what country he desires his workers to come, and the application form used varies according to the country of origin and the occupation of the workers concerned. The forms of application for

¹ The provisions analysed here are those applied to seasonal immigration from Poland up to the beginning of 1932, at which date the German authorities decided to suspend this movement.

workers of any particular country must be drawn up in accordance with the standard form annexed to the agreement which the French Government concluded with that country.

In *Germany* and in *France* the application, whether it be individual or collective, is examined at two different stages at least, according to the regulations governing the internal movement of workers : by the local employment service and by some higher authority. This examination has a dual purpose : on the one hand, to determine whether the application is compatible and in conformity with the provisions of national laws and regulations and the bilateral agreements, particularly as regards equality of treatment, and, on the other hand, to make certain that it cannot be met except by the introduction of foreign workers.

In *France* the employer sends his application, whether it is for an individual worker or for a group of workers, either directly or through the recognised agent to the Departmental or district employment exchange for his area. If no workers are found to be available for the employment in question in that district, the competent employment exchange endorses the application and transmits it either to the Ministry of Labour or to the Ministry of Agriculture. In the light of the position on the national labour market, the Ministry examines the possibility of finding available labour in other areas, failing which it endorses the application and sends it to the Government of the country to which the foreign workers belong.

FIXING OF QUOTAS BY BILATERAL AGREEMENT

The procedure outlined above is supplemented, in the case of countries which have recently signed bilateral labour or recruiting agreements, by negotiations between these countries to fix the quotas or maximum limits for the movement of labour from one of these countries to the other.

The *Franco-Italian* Treaty of 1919, for example, stipulates that the Mixed Committee set up by the two countries to meet twice a year must, at each of its sessions, " (1) estimate approximately the number of workers which it seems possible to recruit, as well as the number which it seems desirable to recruit ; (2) indicate the areas to which immigrant workers should preferably be directed and those to which they should not be directed in view of the number of workers available. In this connection each State reserves to itself the right to take the advice of the organisations of employers and workers concerned in its own territory." The

clause on this subject in the *Franco-Polish Agreement* of 1919, which was reproduced in the *Franco-Czechoslovak Agreement* of 20 March 1920, and with slight modifications in the labour treaties concluded by *France* with *Rumania* and *Austria* in 1930, is much more definite (cf. p. 185).

In determining these quotas the French authorities and those of the emigration countries would seem to make their estimates on the basis of the available indices concerning the labour market. The report published on the work of the Franco-Polish Advisory Committee which met at the end of December 1929 shows that the quota of Polish emigrants to be recruited for France in 1930 was fixed at 61,500, distributed over the following categories: workers for coal mines, iron mines and potash mines, building workers, other industries, women workers for industry and workers for agriculture. Quite exceptionally, the quota for that year did not include any figure for women workers in agriculture. The total mentioned above was said to be considerably lower than the proposal made by the French Government for that year (96,000 emigrants, including 12,000 women), and the Polish delegation stated that its Government reserved the right to revise the figure fixed by the Committee in the middle of the year.

The system in force for seasonal immigration from *Poland* to *Germany* combined the two operations of estimating the amount of labour and proposing a quota. All the details of the procedure, and even the dates of the various operations, were carefully fixed in advance. Early in October every year the German agricultural employers sent to the local employment exchanges their applications for permission to employ foreign workers, stating in their application the number of immigrants previously employed, the area under cultivation or to be brought under cultivation, the accommodation available and the number of workers desired. These applications were first of all examined by the joint committee of the employment exchange in question, which verified the employers' statements and considered the situation of the local labour market. They were then examined by the State Employment Office from the point of view of its labour market, and were then passed to the joint technical agricultural committee of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, the final decision being taken by the Federal Ministry of Labour with the approval of the Federal Council. Towards the end of December the German Central Office for Workers allocated the total applications to the various emigration States with which Germany had concluded special treaties.

This dual process of administrative authorisation and numerical estimation was completed about the end of the year, when the German Central Office for Workers informed the Polish Emigration Office of the probable number of agricultural workers required, indicating their sex, age, district of recruiting or district of future employment. The examination of the application by the Polish Emigration Office led in some cases to changes, usually in the total figures or in the proposed recruiting areas. This was followed by the annual conference of representatives of the competent authorities towards the end of January. This conference finally fixed the annual quota and the districts in which the workers were to be recruited and placed in employment. This last point, which was clearly of importance for German employers, was equally important for the Polish Government, which, just as in the case of emigration to France, wished to have the last word in the distribution of recruiting operations throughout Poland and, if necessary, to prevent its citizens being sent to districts where the employment of Polish workers had previously given bad results.¹

EXAMINATION OF APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT

The problems to be faced by the future emigrant, although different from those of the employer, are none the less delicate. They are chiefly psychological, which explains why this initial phase of emigration is one of those in which private organisations play their most active part and are generally most in demand.

A worker who desires to emigrate is very conscious of the difficulties of his position and wishes to avoid these difficulties, but often cannot see how to do so. He sometimes wonders whether emigration is really likely to improve his own position and that of his family and whether he has made a good choice of his country of destination or future occupation (for emigration very often involves a change of occupation). Very frequently the emigrant is led away by impulse or by unreliable or incomplete information, and it is in such circumstances that the future risks are greatest.

Apart from the question of the information and guidance given to the future emigrant (which is of the greatest importance but does not fall within the scope of this study), the problem of recruiting is to determine, in a space of time which is necessarily short, and often with limited means, whether the applicant has

¹ At the Session of the Franco-Polish Advisory Committee in Dec. 1929 the Polish delegation stated that the emigration of women agricultural workers to France would be permitted only to certain areas where special organisations had been set up for the assistance of such workers.

any real chance of earning a living by his work abroad and whether his work and capabilities are likely, after a comparatively short period, to meet the requirements in the immigration country.

The preliminary examination of future emigrants is naturally of more direct importance for the country of emigration, which cannot be indifferent to the fate of its nationals abroad or to the consequences, favourable or the reverse, of their emigration for the family, the social and economic group to which they belong, and the demographic and economic conditions of the area from which they come. Nor can it be indifferent to the impression which these groups of its citizens make in their country of destination, for that impression cannot fail to influence the reputation of the mother country abroad and the future openings for emigration in the country of destination.

This first examination, or recruiting in the stricter sense of the term, is governed by a number of detailed regulations in *Poland*. The municipal authorities in the areas covered by the quota register free of charge the names of men or women wishing to emigrate. In the case of seasonal agricultural emigration to Germany certain categories of workers were automatically excluded, while others were given preference. Those who were not permitted to register included foreigners, men liable for military service, persons suspected of intending to engage in work other than agriculture, the infirm or disabled, women in pregnancy, young women travelling alone and members of families with children unable to work. Priority was given to persons without means who had already spent long periods in Germany, agricultural workers with no land of their own and peasants running their holdings at a loss, particularly when they belonged to large families.

SELECTION AND ENGAGEMENT

After the preliminary phase briefly described above, which was rounded off in the case of Poland by the distribution of the quota over different areas in the light of general factors and of the number of applications received, comes the operation of selection. This operation, often necessarily a hasty one, is complicated by the variety of the interests involved: those of the employer, of the emigrant, of the immigration and emigration countries, and others which may arise in certain circumstances as, for example, those of the recruiting organisation (when it is more than a mere cog in the machine), those of the emigrant's family, etc.

This haste with which the selection of emigrants is generally

carried out has often been commented upon and criticised. It is true that many of the difficulties of adaptation and the disagreements as to output or stability of employment which arise sooner or later during the emigrant's employment can be traced back to misunderstandings which arose at the time when the worker was being selected or engaged. The worker may not have understood the type of work or the kind of life in store for him, or the employer's requirements may not have been understood by the agents acting for him. Apart from these common cases, it may also happen that, while the employer and the emigrant have no cause for complaint, dissatisfaction is shown by the country of emigration (emigrant's family abandoned ; cost of repatriation or relief for emigrants who were unlucky or unfitted for emigration), or by the country of immigration (introduction of cheap but unstable labour, or of undesirable characters from a hygienic or social point of view). The haste shown in selection operations in certain cases has been contrasted with the prudence exercised in others. In Europe a " professional selector " established a record by examining 1,200 persons in thirteen hours, whereas emigrants to the *United States* must, before departure, undergo very thorough examinations, carried out by officials of the Public Health Service and immigration inspectors who reject all the applicants who are physically or mentally inadmissible. Similarly, the regulations in force in *India* do not permit an emigrant to embark if he has not understood the conditions, or if, after being selected, he no longer wishes to emigrate.

The reply made to these criticisms is that speed is absolutely essential in international recruiting and placing. It is generally agreed that rapidity of decision and execution is indispensable in the work of placing within a country, and this rule must apply with all the more force in international placing, for between the time when the applications for workers and for employment are received and the date when they are finally co-ordinated, there are a number of inevitably lengthy formalities and operations which retard the possibility of satisfying the applicants on either side. The operations of recruiting seasonal agricultural labour in Poland for employment in Germany, for instance, covered four or five months every winter. Sometimes it is not merely individual employers who urgently require labour, but a whole community, as was the case in France immediately after the war and during the early years of reconstruction of the devastated areas. As to the risk of errors, no method could completely eliminate them or release the country of immigration, particularly if frontier control

is not strict, from the duty of establishing and maintaining a system of supervision over immigrants in its territory. In some cases, moreover, as for example in the case of Polish immigration to Germany, the slow and gradual procedure adopted is naturally due to a desire to have the fullest guarantee that no opportunity will be neglected of finding employment for national workers. It would be unwise and unjust, for the sole purpose of eliminating a comparatively small number of individuals, to organise a highly complicated system of selection, the chief effect of which would be to delay giving satisfaction to employers and emigrants and thus to some extent penalising both parties.

Without prolonging this discussion it may be pointed out that the disadvantages of hasty selection vary considerably in different cases and that their gravity increases with the quality of the labour in question, the distance between the place of emigration and the place of immigration and the degree of ignorance of the parties as to the conditions involved. Many difficulties can easily be got over by improving the premises used for selection or by employing more numerous or more highly skilled selectors. In this connection it may be mentioned that for the recruiting of Polish seasonal workers the German Central Office for Workers was in the habit of sending some twenty agents, often men with fifteen or twenty years' experience, each of whom had a certain number of districts to cover and each of whom not only knew the language but was also acquainted with the general circumstances of the emigrants. Certain other practices often referred to would seem to have an unfavourable influence on the operation of selection: very frequently applicants for emigration are convened in large numbers to places which it is difficult for them to reach from their normal residence, so that the premises are overcrowded, there is no order, and useless and excessive fatigue is involved for the emigrants, whether they are accepted or rejected. In districts where the tendency to emigrate is strongly marked, the use of posters announcing recruiting operations or the excessive subdivision of the various operations without adequate preliminary selection to reduce the number of applicants for a limited number of posts, may quite possibly prove sources of difficulty and disorganisation in the selection and engagement of emigrants. In any case, a mere multiplicity of successive examinations is in itself no guarantee that the selection will be efficiently carried out. At the European Conference on Transit Cards for Emigrants, held at Geneva in June 1929, one delegate related the vicissitudes of a Rumanian emigrant from Bucharest before he was finally admitted

to America. He not only had to obtain a number of consular transit visas and the American visa at Lwow, but had also to undergo at least eight successive medical examinations by Polish, British and American doctors if he happened to embark at Danzig for London or Southampton and at Southampton for New York. In spite of all these medical inspections the emigrant was still occasionally rejected by the American authorities on his arrival.

Polish workers proceeding to France or Germany are subjected to a succession of brief examinations. The future emigrants are brought in groups by the mayor of their commune before the selection committee, which consists of recruiting or selecting agents from the emigration countries, officials of the local Polish employment exchanges, and officials of the Polish district administrations. The examination includes first of all the checking of the statements made by the parties concerned as to their personal and family situation, their resources, etc. The next step is to eliminate those individuals who obviously do not appear to have the necessary health, physique or occupational ability.

In the case of seasonal emigration to Germany, the committee then formed groups of workers, combining, if necessary, the numerical and individual demands received from the employers. A contract was then drawn up for each group and signed on behalf of the employer and by every worker. Before it was signed, the German recruiting agent was bound, according to the contract, to read it out in Polish to the group and to inform the members of their place of destination, the date of departure, and the frontier station to which they had to go. The Polish authorities handed to each emigrant with his passport a pamphlet informing him of the chief facts which he should know for his sojourn abroad. If any emigrants failed to appear at the date of departure, the Polish authorities had to supply substitutes. The second inspection, to check the identity of the emigrants, conduct a medical examination, and deliver their provisional registration cards, took place at the frontier in the special offices of the German Central Office for Workers.

In the case of emigration to France, the two inspections take place in Poland itself at brief intervals before the departure of the emigrants, and include the usual formalities (disinfection, photograph, signature of contract, accommodation in a recruiting centre, embarkation, etc.).

TRANSPORT AND PLACING

Generally speaking, the problem of transport is mainly one of organisation and equipment ; the aim must always be to avoid ex-

cessive fatigue for the emigrants and permit them to reach their place of employment in good health. Emigrants recruited collectively are sent in convoys of 600 on the average, but sometimes many more ; an agent of the recruiting organisation accompanies them on the train. Systematic organisation is necessary to ensure adherence to time-table, a supply of food to the emigrants, and the necessary attention for those who may be ill between the time of departure and the time of arrival at the distribution centre in the country of immigration. When they reach that point, the emigrants are sent individually or in groups to their place of employment. Most of the European emigration countries have decided that, although the risk of accidents for emigrants during transport by land or by sea is very slight, they should nevertheless be insured. If an accident does occur, it nearly always means abject poverty for the emigrant or his family, and a claim for damages through the usual channels is slow and extremely doubtful of success. Consequently the legislation of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland and Yugoslavia prescribes that emigrants must be insured against accidents during their journey. These provisions are usually supplemented by others making it compulsory for their luggage to be insured, because the emigrant normally takes with him all his movable property.

These measures must be accompanied by regulations concerning the conditions of the policy and the rate of premium.¹

The question of the cost of transport is of great importance both for the employer and for the emigrant ; most countries have therefore felt the need for legislation on the rates charged by recruiting organisations for transport or for incidental expenses. A much debated point is whether the expenses should be paid by the employer or by the emigrant himself. Some people maintain that the more independent and energetic emigrants prefer to pay the money themselves, while others assert that if the emigrant has to pay the cost this will generally paralyse international movements of labour. In reality the question has been settled in different ways according to circumstances. In the case of seasonal emigration to Germany, the emigrant, as soon as engaged, received a coupon entitling him to travel half-fare on that part of his journey which took place in Poland. Once he crossed the frontier, the cost of his return journey on German territory was paid by the employer. In the case of the immigration of foreign workers

¹ It is said that a Polish emigrant going from Myslowice to Toul had to pay 140 French francs to insure a plain wooden box.

to France, the rates for the train journey vary according to the occupation and nationality of those concerned, and also for different parts of their journey. Immigrants of certain nationalities prefer to pay their travelling expenses themselves, sometimes with the right to reclaim a refund from their employer as their contract is fulfilled. Others, again, particularly those from Eastern Europe, are engaged on the condition that the employer advances their travelling expenses, with the right, subject to certain limitations laid down in French legislation, to deduct the amount from the immigrant's wages later. If the immigrant completes the whole of his engagement, however, the employer owes him a lump sum nominally equal to the cost of the return journey of the immigrant to his country of origin.

In Germany the convoys of Polish agricultural immigrants were divided up in the district agencies of the German Central Office for Workers which had been established in various parts of the country where foreign labour was normally employed. The workers were then sent in small groups to their place of employment, the leader of each group receiving the railway tickets for all the members of the group. The Central Office and its various branches were also responsible for the repatriation of foreign agricultural immigrants at the end of the season, the methods of transport in this case being the same as for the original journey.

In France a final check on immigrants is exercised at the frontier, but this affects chiefly collective immigration and not individual immigration. There is a medical and police examination, and the workers' contracts are examined to ensure that they are in order ; immigrants going voluntarily are dealt with separately. The convoy of immigrants recruited collectively is then usually sent to the distribution centre at Toul, except in the case of Italian workers, who are collected and distributed in Modane. In these distribution centres there is a third medical examination, the immigrants are vaccinated, and they are then sent to the employers in accordance with the numbers applied for. The recruiting organisations notify the employers of the departure of the workers and their hour of arrival, so that someone can arrange to meet them.

CHAPTER VI

STATISTICS OF THE OPERATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

THE statistics prepared by employment services have generally a dual purpose ; they are a source of information as to the position of the labour market and they also serve as a check on the work of the employment services. They may also be a source of information as to rates of wages, but it is only in exceptional cases, which will be mentioned later, that they fulfil this purpose.

The value of employment exchanges as a basis of statistics was considered at the Second International Conference of Labour Statisticians at Geneva in April 1925, when the following resolution was adopted :

“ (4). The statistics derived from public employment offices should give :

“ (a) the number of workpeople registered on a given day of the month as seeking work, with the total number of vacancies remaining unfilled on the same day ;

“ (b) the number of workers' applications registered, of vacancies notified, and of vacancies filled during the month.

“ (5). Employment exchange statistics should be compiled so that, as far as possible, unskilled workers are distinguished from other classes of workers.”

The eighth point in the same resolution prescribed that the statistics of employment exchanges should distinguish males and females, and should as far as possible give figures for separate occupations, following the classifications used in the general population census, in so far as these were applicable to employment exchange operations.

It may be of interest to recall the reasons why the statistics of employment exchanges are not always considered likely to give an exact picture of unemployment. The chief of these reasons is that the employment exchanges cannot know all those in search of employment unless every other means of seeking employment is prohibited and this prohibition strictly enforced. They have fairly accurate information, however, when there is administrative co-ordination between the public employment services and a system of compulsory unemployment insurance covering the

great majority of the working population, as is the case in *Germany* and *Great Britain*.

It also happens that among the persons registered with the employment exchanges there are some who are not unemployed, but who merely wish to change their job.

Another source of inexactitude lies in the fact that the number of workpeople registered on a given day of the month published in the statistics includes a certain number of applications which have not been renewed, but are still considered valid by the employment service. This danger is particularly great when labour market is very unstable: every fresh application for employment is immediately registered, sometimes in several exchanges at the same time, while the applications which have been dropped by unemployed persons who have found employment in other ways are not noted until after a certain time has elapsed and after an administrative control, which is not always effective. The number of applications for employment registered with the employment exchange as outstanding may in this case be far in excess of the number of persons actually seeking work. This point will be referred to later in connection with the period of validity of such applications.

For all these reasons, the unemployment statistics based on employment exchanges should be checked by a comparison with figures from other statistical sources, and more especially statistics of employment. Calculations made in Germany showed that the decrease in the number of persons employed from 1929 to 1932 was nearly two million more than the increase in the number of unemployed during the same period. In other words, nearly two million persons had lost their employment without being shown in the official unemployment statistics, and thus constituted an "invisible reserve" of unemployed.

Although statistics of employment exchanges do not give an exact picture of unemployment, they nevertheless reveal the trend of the labour market as expressed in the number of applications for employment and the number of vacancies notified or filled.

The data concerning the work of the employment exchanges usually show the general results over a certain period (a week, month or year), and the position on a given day of the week, month or year. The figures of the first group show the extent of the movements on the labour market during a certain period (total number of applications, vacancies and placings), while those of the second group show the static position on a given date (number of applicants for employment and number of vacancies unfilled).

The figures covering a long period give some idea of the activity of the employment exchanges, and are necessary for administrative supervision over the working of the exchanges. They have, however, also great value from the point of view of the statistics of the labour market, since they reflect the trend of the market, whereas the figures referring to a given day (generally the last day of the month) merely show the position at a certain moment, subject to the reservations made above as to the value of these statistics as a criterion of unemployment. The two groups of figures are therefore mutually complementary.

Statistics are generally published monthly and annually, but in certain countries, such as *France*, statistics of the labour market are published weekly. In *Great Britain*, the figures refer to the end of every "statistical month," which may be of four or five weeks (the "statistical year" usually has four months of five weeks and eight months of four weeks).

The statistical tables of the work of the employment exchanges practically always contain the three main headings: "Number of Applications for Employment," "Number of Vacancies Notified," and "Number of Vacancies Filled" during the statistical period in question. These three may be supplemented by other columns showing the number of workers for whom no employment was found and the number of vacancies which had not been filled by the end of the period. There is sometimes also a column for the number of applicants submitted to employers (submissions), and another for applications for vacancies which have been withdrawn or have lapsed.¹

§ 1.—Statistics of Applications for Employment

With regard to these figures, it is important to know whether they represent the number of applicants or the number of applications for employment. In other words, is every application for employment counted separately even when a person who is engaged for short periods on successive jobs applies to the employment exchange on a number of occasions during one month, or do the figures show the number of individuals in search of employment during the period in question? The majority of countries would seem at present to apply the first of these methods. Every application for employment is usually registered separately, even if the person has already applied to the exchange several times during the week or month.

¹ Cf. ANNABEL and BRYCE STEWART: *Statistical Procedure of Public Employment Offices*, in which the question of terminology is specially dealt with.

This question is linked up with that of the period of validity of applications. For how long should the application be considered as valid after having been registered? The unemployed are usually asked to inform the exchange at regular intervals, either in person or in writing, whether they are still in search of employment. This question has probably lost much of its importance in countries where the public employment service is linked up with the administration of unemployment insurance, since the unemployed must report regularly to the exchanges in order to retain their right to benefit, and are thus automatically considered as still in search of employment. In practice, therefore, the question arises only for those persons who are not in receipt of unemployment benefit.

The practice of counting the applications for employment and not the number of individual applicants does not show the total number of persons who have used the exchange during a given period, but it indicates the pressure exercised on the exchange by the unemployed. A comparison of the number of registrations with the number of individuals registered would reveal the instability of the labour market by showing how often on the average a worker had applied to the exchange for employment.

In *France*, the Ministry of Labour publishes weekly and monthly the number of workpeople registered as seeking work at the end of the period in question. Some of the Departmental offices, such as that of the Seine, also show the number of applications registered during the period.

In *Germany*, the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance publishes every month the number of applications registered during the month and the number of those carried forward from the preceding month. Another column shows the number of persons still in search of employment at the end of the month, with a note as to how many of these persons are unemployed. Every application for employment is registered separately. Applications from persons temporarily resident in the district are not reckoned unless employment is found for them, or if they apply more than once in the course of the week. At the end of the month following that in which the application was registered, any application for which no vacancy has been found is considered to have lapsed unless the applicant renews it during the month. Applications which are thus renewed are not counted as fresh applications, but as being carried forward from the preceding month. The employment exchange must verify, even during the period of validity, whether the application is still

maintained, and must delete it from the register if such is not the case.

In *Great Britain*, the Ministry of Labour publishes monthly statistics of the number of persons registered with the employment exchanges at the end of the month, a distinction being made between those who are wholly unemployed and those who are "temporarily stopped." Persons who are in employment but wish a change of post may be registered, but they are not shown in the statistics of applications. These statistics, which are based on the number of applications and not on the number of applicants, do not show the number of fresh applications registered during the month, but publish, for purposes of comparison, the figures for the end of the preceding month. Applications remain valid for a week; for persons living more than three miles from an employment exchange and for ex-service men the period of validity is a fortnight.

In *Poland*, statistics of the number of persons registered during the month and of persons for whom no employment has been found at the end of the month are regularly published. Every application for employment is registered separately, and the application remains valid for one month. The exchanges must check their registers of applications every week and delete applications which have not been renewed for thirty days.

The statistics in *Switzerland* show the number of applications for which no vacancies have been found at the end of the month. Other statistics, published once a year, show the number of applications registered during each month.

Other countries publish only figures showing the number of applications registered during the statistical period (*Belgium*, where, up to 1929, the number of applications for which no vacancies could be found was also shown; *Sweden*), or merely the number of applications outstanding at the end of the month (*Austria, Denmark, Norway*), or the two groups of figures (*Canada, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands*). It should be noted that the statistics published in *Czechoslovakia* cover all the employment exchanges, whether public or private.

A certain number of countries publish annual tabular summaries of the operations of the employment exchanges over a number of years.

§ 2.—Statistics of Vacancies Notified

The problems connected with statistics of vacancies notified are similar to those of statistics of application for employment. One must know whether the statistics refer to the orders of employers,

each one of which may include a number of vacancies, or to the number of vacancies themselves. The practice followed in most countries is to register every vacancy. Consequently, if an employer applies to an employment exchange several times during any statistical period, or if he has vacancies for several workers, each individual vacancy is reckoned separately in the statistics.

The question of the period of validity of the vacancy arises here also. It has no practical importance, however, except in branches of activity or in periods in which labour is scarce as compared with the number of vacancies. On the other hand, unemployment compels the employment exchanges to keep in close touch with every employer who has notified a vacancy until that vacancy is actually filled.

The number of vacancies notified may prove a source of information as to the degree of instability on the labour market. At present this figure reveals the opportunities for employment on the labour market. The statistics of vacancies also provide a check on the degree to which the employers actually use the public employment service.

In *Germany*, the rules for the compilation and publication of statistics of vacancies are the same as for applications. The period of validity of the vacancies is also the same.

In *Great Britain*, the number of vacancies unfilled at the end of the month is not published, as is done in the case of applications still outstanding, but the total number of vacancies notified during the period is published. There is no definite period of validity for vacancies, but once a month the exchanges must get in touch with employers and discover whether the vacancies are still open. In *Italy*, although employers are under an obligation to notify all vacancies to the employment exchanges, no statistics of vacancies notified are published.

Other countries generally follow the same practice for statistics of vacancies as for applications. There are one or two exceptions : *Austria* and *Denmark* publish only the number of applicants for employment at the end of each month without indicating the number of vacancies unfilled.

§ 3.—Statistics of Vacancies Filled

The statistics of vacancies filled serve an essentially practical purpose. They are the best criterion of the efficiency of the public employment service, particularly when these figures can be compared with the applications for employment and the vacancies notified. On the other hand, these statistics are only of

secondary importance in throwing light on the labour market. Statistics of vacancies filled are sometimes accompanied by statistics of submissions, and a comparison of the two shows the efficiency of the service.

The column for vacancies filled is often subdivided so as to make a distinction between placings for an indefinite period and those for a strictly limited period (one week or less). Sometimes a distinction is made between local placings (within the area of the exchange) and clearing operations.

In *France* a distinction is made between permanent placings and placings for one week or less, which are considered as temporary. The French statistics of vacancies filled are particularly detailed, for in addition to these two groups they also indicate the number of local placings, clearing operations and collective placings of dockers.

In *Germany*, a distinction is made between ordinary placing and placing for a period of less than one week (*Aushilfen*). A further distinction involves the grouping in a separate column of those cases in which the employer applies through the employment exchange for workers who have previously worked with him and are at the moment unemployed (*Rückrufe*).

In *Great Britain*, certain placing operations in which the employment service plays a minor part, such as applications for former workers through the employment exchange or the placing of workers in relief work for a few weeks, are shown separately as "Class B placings."

In *Japan*, a distinction is made between general workers and casual workers.

Other countries usually publish only the number of placings during a given period. There are one or two special cases which may be mentioned. *Switzerland* publishes the number of placings once a year, the monthly statistics showing only the number of applicants and the number of vacancies. The monthly statistics of *Austria* and *Denmark* contain merely the number of applications outstanding at the end of the month, without stating the number of vacancies filled.

In *Italy*, the statistics of vacancies filled have not so far been published regularly, but the Ministry of Corporations supplies the authorities with information on this subject from time to time.

§ 4.—Comparative Data

Apart from the three elementary groups of statistical data (applications, vacancies notified, and vacancies filled) some

countries publish figures showing the ratios between these data. Such comparisons are interesting, but must practically always be made subject to a number of reservations.

The practice followed in national statistical services permits of a distinction being made between the following types of comparative figures :

- (1) Ratio of vacancies notified to applications for employment (*Canada, Czechoslovakia*).
- (2) Ratio of applications to vacancies (*Belgium, Japan, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, United States*).
- (3) Ratio of placings to applications (*Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan*).
- (4) Ratio of placings to vacancies (*Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland*).
- (5) Ratio of applications to unfilled vacancies (*Czechoslovakia, France*).

The first four of these ratios show the activity of the employment exchanges, while the last refers to the position on a given date.

It may be noted that neither *Germany* nor *Great Britain* now publishes any of these comparative figures. In *Germany*, the ratio between the number of applications and the number of vacancies was published for a number of years under the title "*Andrangsziffer*" (index of pressure), showing the pressure exerted by applicants for every vacancy. An index of this kind is no longer published.

§ 5.—Classification of Data

The International Conference of Labour Statisticians recommended that the statistics supplied by employment exchanges should be classified by sex and by occupation, the latter classification conforming as far as possible to the industrial and occupational classifications used for the general census.

Classification by sex is common in many countries and is sometimes supplemented by a subdivision into adult and juvenile workers (*Great Britain, Netherlands, Switzerland*).

The question of occupational classification raises a number of problems which cannot be dealt with in detail here. Theoretically, classification is possible either by the branch of industry to which the worker belongs or by his individual occupation. The method

selected will depend on the aim of the authorities responsible for the statistics. From the point of view of placing it is obvious that the more important question is that of the individual occupation of the worker.

The classifications actually adopted by the placing services of various countries are far from being uniform. Most of them are mixed classifications by industry and occupational group, as, for instance, in *Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany* and the *Netherlands*. *Great Britain* has a detailed classification by industry.

It would be desirable for all countries to have a uniform occupational classification for the various branches of their social statistics, and for a uniform international occupational classification to be adopted, at least for each separate branch of social statistics. There would, however, be great practical difficulties to be overcome.

Some countries, such as *Czechoslovakia, France, Japan, the Netherlands* and *Poland*, make a distinction between unskilled and other occupational groups, thus carrying out one of the suggestions of the International Conference of Labour Statisticians. The *Austrian* and *Czechoslovak* statistics also show the placing of apprentices separately.

Placing operations are often classified by administrative units or by important industrial centres.

§ 6.—Other Statistical Information

The wage requested by the worker and the wage offered by the employer are essential factors in every placing operation. It might therefore be expected that the public employment services would prove the best source of wage statistics, just as commodity exchanges give price quotations. In practice, however, as far as the Office is aware, the employment exchanges of Brussels and Liège are the only ones which publish statistics of wages. An annual report of the Brussels exchange shows that in industries where collective agreements have been drawn up between employers, and workers' organisations the published statistics contain the minimum rates prescribed in those agreements. Failing that, the rates of wages published are compiled on the basis of information obtained from the notification of vacancies and the certificates given by employers to the unemployed.

The employment services are sometimes asked to undertake research not directly connected with their work. In *Great Britain*,

for instance, the public employment exchanges periodically collect information as to retail prices by means of enquiries among the principal shops in their area. This information is communicated to the Ministry of Labour, which uses it for preparing its cost-of-living index.

BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following bibliography includes the most important periodicals and the principal works dealing with public employment exchanges and their activities in a certain number of countries. The list cannot claim to be a complete bibliography of public placing work. It aims simply at indicating the most convenient and reliable sources of information and thus at facilitating further research on the main points mentioned in the analysis of the various systems dealt with in this study.

Apart from the sources mentioned in the list, the reader will find detailed information concerning public employment exchanges in the publications of the International Labour Office among which mention may be made of the following: the *Legislative Series*, which gives the texts of the principal national laws and regulations and international agreements; *Industrial and Labour Information*, which publishes at frequent intervals notes on the most important events in the field of placing in different countries; the *International Labour Review*, which not only gives monthly statistics on employment and unemployment, but also contains occasional articles on the principles and work of various placing systems.

ARGENTINA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Cronica mensual del Departamento nacional del trabajo. Publishes the texts of laws and Decrees relating to placing and statistics of the operations carried out by the National Placing Service.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Stichel, Dr. B. "Die Organisation der Stellenvermittlung in Argentinien." *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamtes*, 15 November, 1 and 15 December 1922.

AUSTRALIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Legislation

Annual volumes of the Acts of Parliament of the various States.

Statistics and General

Commonwealth

MINISTRY FOR HOME AND TERRITORIES, BUREAU OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS, STATE FREE EMPLOYMENT BUREAUX. *Labour Report* (Annual). Canberra, Government Printer. Contains information on the organisation and operations of the Employment Exchanges in each of the States. The information in Reports Nos. 19 and 20 (1928 and 1929) is particularly comprehensive.

Queensland

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR: *Report of the Director of Labour and Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops for the Year ended 30 June 1932*. Contains statistics of the operations of the State Labour Exchanges.

New South Wales

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND INDUSTRY: *New South Wales Industrial Gazette* (monthly). Sydney. Contains statistics of the operations of the State Labour Exchanges and records operations in respect of licences applied for and granted to private employment agencies.

The Official Year Book of New South Wales (Annual). Sydney, Government Printer. Contains a short account of the State Labour Exchanges and private employment agencies of New South Wales.

Victoria

The Victorian Year Book (Annual). Melbourne, Government Printer. Contains a short account of the Government Labour Exchange.

AUSTRIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Bundesgesetzblatt. A collection of laws which appears at irregular intervals and contains legislative texts concerning placing.

Ämtliche Nachrichten des Bundesministeriums für soziale Verwaltung. Published monthly by the Ministry of Social Administration; reprints or gives a summary of legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Statistische Nachrichten. Published monthly by the Bundesamt für Statistik; shows for the end of each month the number of applicants for employment, classified by sex, industry and district.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

FORCHHEIMER, KARL. *Gesetze und Verordnungen über Arbeitslosenversicherung, Arbeitsvermittlung, und Auswanderung nebst Durchführungsvorschriften*. (*Die sozialpolitische Gesetzgebung in Österreich*, Vol. VI: Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte. Vienna, 1923.)

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Arbeit und Wirtschaft. Published by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the Chambers of Workers and the Works Councils, appearing fortnightly. It gives a critical summary of any legislation concerning placing and from time to time articles dealing with problems of placing.

Die industrielle Bezirkskommission Wien. Landesbehörde für Arbeitsvermittlung und ihre Arbeitsämter, 1918-1928. Published by the Industrial Commission of Vienna, Vienna. 1928. 127 pp.

BELGIUM

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Revue du Travail. Published by the Ministry of Industry and Labour. Appears monthly and reproduces the more important Royal Orders.

Statistics

Idem. Publishes monthly statistics of vacancies and applications for employment and vacancies filled by the official labour exchanges. It shows annually the number of applications as a percentage of vacancies and the number of vacancies filled as a percentage of the total number of vacancies and applications.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

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BULGARIA

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CANADA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Legislation

Annual volumes of statutes of the Dominion of Canada and of the various Provinces.

Statistics

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA. *Annual Reports*. In "Annual Reports of the Department of Labour, Ottawa."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu Československého. A collection of laws appearing at irregular intervals (published also in German under the title *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Cechoslowakischen Staates*) and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Zprávy státního úřadu statistického—Berichte des statistischen Staatsamtes. Reports of the Statistical Office appearing at irregular intervals and showing for the

end of each month, divided by sex, industry, district and category of employment exchange, the number of vacancies, applications, vacancies filled, the number of applicants not placed per 100 vacancies, the number of applicants not placed per 1,000 employed persons, the number of vacancies notified and vacancies filled per 100 applicants, and the number of vacancies filled per 100 vacancies notified.

Miscellaneous

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NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Odborové sdružení Československé. Published monthly by the Social Democratic Party and occasionally containing articles on placing.

RAUCHBERG, H. *O ochraně domácího trhu práce.* Prague, 1928. 29 pp. The protection of the national labour market.

DANZIG (FREE CITY OF)

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig.
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NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Danziger Wirtschaftszeitung. Appears weekly.

DENMARK

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Lovtidende (Legislative Journal). Appears at irregular intervals and contains legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Indberetning til Socialministeriet om Arbejdsanvisningen og Arbejdsløshedsforsikringen. Annual report showing the weekly number of applications for employment throughout the year, subdivided according to sex.

Socialt Tidsskrift. Published monthly by the Ministry of Social Affairs and showing the number of workers for whom no employment has been found at the end of the month, classified by industries.

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ESTONIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Riigi Teataja. Official bulletin appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Eesti statistika. Published monthly by the Central Statistical Office, and showing for all labour exchanges the number of unemployed remaining on the books from the preceding month, the number registered during the month, the number

returning after temporary jobs, the number of vacancies, the number of vacancies withdrawn, the number of workers sent to employers, the number of vacancies filled and the number of unemployed still on the books on the first of the month. All these figures are subdivided by occupations, industries and districts.

FINLAND

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Finlands Författningssamling. A collection of laws appearing at irregular intervals in Finnish and in Swedish and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics and General

Social Tidskrift—Sosialinen Aikakauskirja. Published monthly by the Ministry for Social Affairs and showing, for each month, the number of applications and vacancies registered and the number of posts filled, classified by sex and by district. Articles concerning various problems of placing appear in this review from time to time.

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FRANCE

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Organisation

Bulletin du Ministère du Travail (quarterly). Publishes the texts of Acts and regulations concerning placing, etc.

Statistics

Bulletin du marché du travail. Published by the Central Labour Service of the Ministry of Labour. Appears weekly and contains statistics of placing operations for permanent or casual jobs, local placing and the transfer of workers from one district to another in different departments and different occupations, as well as the number of applications and vacancies registered by occupations and by Departments, and an outline of the position of the labour market in the various Departments. The same statistics appear in the *Journal officiel de la République française* every Friday (this publication contains Acts and Decrees, a non-official section and notices and communications from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Central Labour Service).

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GERMANY

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Reichsarbeitsblatt. Published by the Ministry of Labour, appearing three times a month. It contains the texts of the most important laws and orders as well as articles giving commentaries on these legislative measures. From time to time studies of conditions on the labour market and the organisation of placing are also published.

Reichsarbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger. Published by the Ministry of Labour. Appears fortnightly and contains the less important regulations which are not published in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, and in particular, administrative orders and circulars.

Statistics

Reichsarbeitsblatt. Contains monthly and annual tables showing the number of applications for employment and vacancies registered with the public exchanges and private non-fee-charging agencies, as well as the number of vacancies filled.

The figures are classified by occupation, sex and district. The same publication also contains tables showing the financial position of the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

Reichsarbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger. Contains the same statistics as the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*.

Miscellaneous

Jahresberichte der Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung. Contains complete information concerning developments on the labour market, the spread of the public employment service, the most important problems with which it has to deal, the position and work of private employment agencies and vocational guidance.

Richtlinien für die Durchführung der Arbeitsvermittlung bei den Arbeitsämtern, June 1932. Published by the Federal Institution for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. It gives a systematic outline of the general organisation of placing and the technical principles and rules to be observed by the labour offices in regard to local placing and the transfer of workers from one district to another, collaboration with private agencies, the compilation of statistics, measures for facilitating the return of workers to employment, and measures for education and occupational rehabilitation.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Periodicals

The fortnightly reviews, *Der öffentliche Arbeitsnachweis* and *Arbeit und Beruf*, regularly publish articles on the organisation of the labour market and placing in which all the technical problems involved are discussed by specialists. The weekly review *Soziale Praxis* from time to time publishes articles and studies on these same questions.

Halbjahresbuch der Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, by B. LEHFELDT, O. WEIGERT and F. BERNDT. Berlin, Reimar Hobbing. A collection of legal decisions and administrative rulings with regard to placing and unemployment insurance; it also gives a summary of technical studies which have appeared during the half year.

Miscellaneous

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GREAT BRITAIN

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Statistics

Ministry of Labour Gazette (monthly). Publishes statistics of numbers of persons on the registers of the employment exchanges and vacancies filled and notified, persons on the registers at principal towns, number and percentage of insured persons recorded as unemployed, juvenile employment statistics.

General

MINISTRY OF LABOUR. *Annual Reports*.

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NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

BEVERIDGE, W. H. *Unemployment. A Problem of Industry (1909 and 1930)*. London, 1930. 514 pp.

BEUSHAUFER, G. "Staatliche Massnahmen zur Schulung und Umsiedlung Arbeitsloser in Grossbritannien." *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 5 February 1931, pp. II, 59-63.

BRINLEY, THOS. "Labour Mobility in South Wales Industry 1920-1930." *The Economist*, June 1931, pp. 216-226.

DAVISON, R. C. *The Unemployed: Old Policies and New*. London, 1929. 292 pp.

FUSS, HENRI, and TAIT, D. CHRISTIE. "Unemployment Benefits and Measures for Occupying the Unemployed in Great Britain." *International Labour Review*, May 1933, p. 595.

JEWKES, J., and WINTERBOTTOM, A. "Unrecorded Unemployment in the Cotton Industry." *The Economic Journal*, December 1931, p. 639.

HAMILTON WHYTE, W. "Decasualisation of Dock Labour at the Port of Bristol." *Economica*, August 1932, p. 357.

HANHAM, F. G. *Report of Enquiry into Casual Labour in the Merseyside Area*. Liverpool, 1930. 190 pp.

MORLEY, FELIX. *Unemployment Relief in Great Britain*. London, 1924. 293 pp.

SAUNDERS, C. T. "A Study in Occupational Mobility." *The Economist*, June 1931, pp. 227-240.

SEYMOUR, JOHN B. *The British Employment Exchange*. London, 1928. 292 pp.

SJOBERG, DR., and SIMON, DR. *Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung in England. Ein Vergleich mit Deutschland*. Stuttgart, 1930. 63 pp.

HUNGARY

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Budapesti Közlöny. A collection of laws appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Magyar Statisztikai Szemle. Published monthly by the Central Statistical Office and showing for each month the number of applications and vacancies registered, and the number of vacancies filled by public and private exchanges, as well as the number of applications and placings per 100 vacancies.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

BALOGH, ANDOR. *A magyar munkapiacz ujdzervezése*. Budapest, 1926. 47 pp. The reorganisation of placing in Hungary.

ITALY

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Sindacato e Corporazione. Published by the Ministry of Corporations. A monthly publication containing, with a commentary, legislative provisions and official decisions concerning placing.

Statistics

Idem. Occasionally contains statistics on placing.

Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri. Commissariato per la Migrazione e la Colonizzazione Interna. Le Migrazioni Interne in Italia nell'Anno. . . . Annual statistical reports on labour movements from one Province or one commune to another, showing the reasons for these movements, their duration and the number of days of work performed by migrants. The workers are classified by occupational groups, their Province of origin, their destination, age and sex.

General

News Notes on Fascist Corporations. A monthly publication mentioning, with a commentary, any decisions of the Ministry of Corporations and any changes in the trend of opinion with regard to placing.

Le Assicurazioni Sociali. Published every two months by the National Fascist Institute of Social Welfare. It frequently contains articles concerning placing.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

LOSCHIAVO, GIUSEPPE GUIDO. *La disoccupazione e il Mercato della Mano d'opera nella legislazione e nella pratica*. Rome, 1932. 317 pp. Gives a general survey of the organisation and work of the employment exchanges, with certain legal comments. An appendix contains the Labour Charter and the chief legislative provisions concerning the organisation of the labour market, as well as copies of various forms used by the employment exchanges.

CAMPESE, ERNESTO. *Il Fascismo contro la disoccupazione*. Rome, 1929. 378 pp. Contains a chapter on the development of the placing system and another chapter on internal migration.

BENAGLIA, ALBERTO. *Gli Uffici di Collocamento*. Introduction by G. BOTTAI. Rome, 1929. 140 pp. Gives an analysis and criticism of the Royal Decrees concerning placing.

Il Diritto del Lavoro. A monthly publication which is official as regards decisions and communiqués of the Ministry of Corporations. It may also contain articles on placing. It reproduces, with legal comments, various decisions taken by the Labour Courts.

OBLATH, ATTILIO. "The Campaign against Unemployment in Italy." *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 5, May 1930. This article contains a brief outline of the system of placing and of internal migration.

BOTTAI, GIUSEPPE. *Gli uffici di collocamento*. A general survey of the measures taken for the organisation of the labour market in Italy.

JAPAN

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Shokugyo Shokai Nenpo. Annual Report of Employment Exchanges, 1931. Published by Chuo Shokugyo Shokai Jimukyoku (Central Employment Exchange Board). Tokyo, 1933.

TOKYOCHIHOSHOKUGYOSHOKAI JIGYO KYOKAI. *Shokugyo Shokai Jimu Hikkei*. Tokyo, 1933. Handbook of Employment Exchange Practice.

LATVIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Valdibas Vestnesis. A collection of laws appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Mēneša Biletens. Published monthly by the Statistical Office and showing for each month, for the whole country and separately for Riga, the number of workers placed in employment in private undertakings by the municipal employment exchanges and by the private agencies. The statistics also show the number of applicants registered by the municipal exchanges and not placed at the end of the month in different districts and throughout the whole country. The total number of women for the whole country is shown separately.

NETHERLANDS

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. An official publication appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

MINISTERIE VAN ARBEID. *Rijksdienst der Werkloosheidsverzekering en Arbeidsbemiddeling : Jaarverslag betreffende Arbeidsbemiddeling en Emigratie*. A detailed annual report on the employment exchanges and their work.

Maandschrift van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Shows by sex, industry, district and age group the number of applicants and the number of vacancies, subdivided to show those registered during the month, those carried forward from the preceding month, those vacancies filled during the month and those remaining over at the end of the month.

Miscellaneous

De Arbeidsmarkt, Orgaan voor de praktijk. Tevens officieel orgaan van de Vereeniging van leiders van openbare instellingen ten behoeve der arbeidsmarkt. Appears monthly and contains articles on placing.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

GOEDHART, G. J. and ROETERINK, A. *De ontwikkeling der arbeidsbemiddeling in Nederland*. Amsterdam, 1929. 300 pp.

De werkgevers en de openbare arbeidsbemiddeling. Rapport over een aan het einde 1927 in gesteld onderzoek naar het cordeel van de werkgevers over de openbare arbeidsbemiddeling en het gebruik dat zij daarvan maken. Haarlem, 1927. 28 pp. Analyses the opinion of employers concerning public employment exchanges.

NEW ZEALAND

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Legislation

Annual volumes of Acts of Parliament.

Statistics and General

CENSUS AND STATISTICS OFFICE. *New Zealand Official Yearbook*. Annual. Wellington. Contains, each year, an account of the history and functions of the public employment exchanges, and detailed statistics of their operations.

— *Monthly Abstract of Statistics*. Wellington. Contains statistics of the operations of the exchanges.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR. *Annual Reports*. Wellington. Include, *inter alia*, statistics of number of fee-charging agencies in operation.

— *Unemployment in New Zealand*. First and Second Sections of Report of Committee appointed by the Government on 17 October 1928 and 26 February 1929. Wellington, 1929 and 1930. Contains, for a limited period, more detailed statistics of the operations of public exchanges than are available in the *Official Yearbook*.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

"The Employment Bureaux or Labour Exchanges of the Department of Labour in New Zealand" (article supplied through the courtesy of the Department of Labour). *Auckland Chamber of Commerce Journal*, April 1929. Describes the organisation and work of the exchanges.

NORWAY

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Norsk Lovtidende. Legislative journal appearing at irregular intervals and containing the texts of laws concerning placing.

Statistics

Statens Inspektoratet for Arbeidsformidling og Arbeidsledighetsforsikring; Arsberetning. An annual report showing for the various employment exchanges

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and for the whole year the number of applicants, the number of vacancies and the number of posts filled, by sex and by industry.

Statistiske Meddelelser. Published monthly by the Central Statistical Office and showing for the 15th of each month the number of applicants per 100 vacancies and the total number of applicants less the number of vacancies.

POLAND

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Dodatek miesieczny do kwartalnika Praca i Opieka Spoleczna. Monthly supplement to the Review *Labour and Social Welfare*, published by the Ministry of Social Welfare. This publication contains circulars, administrative decisions and the texts of laws, orders, etc., concerning the placing of workers, which are also published in *Dziennik Ustaw* (Journal of Laws) and *Monitor Polski* (Polish Monitor).

Statistics and General

Praca i Opieka Spoleczna (Labour and Social Welfare). Published quarterly by the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Wiadomości Statystyczne (Statistical Information). Published by the Central Statistical Office and giving information as to the work of the public employment exchanges during the month.

Statystyka Pracy (Labour Statistics). A quarterly review published by the Central Statistical Office and containing detailed statistics on the work of the public employment exchanges.

Rocznik Statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Statistical Year Book of the Republic of Poland). Published by the Central Statistical Office and containing data concerning the public employment service.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

BLOCH, J. *Kodeks Pracy* (The Labour Code), Vol. I, 1930. Part V contains the texts of the legislative and administrative provisions concerning placing, with a commentary on these texts.

RUMANIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Monitorul Oficial. An official journal appearing daily and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

News Bulletin of the National Bank of Rumania. Published monthly. Shows the total number of applications, vacancies notified and vacancies filled during the month.

SAAR TERRITORY

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Verordnungen, Erlasse, Verfügungen und Bekanntmachungen der Regierungskommission des Saargebiets. Herausgegeben vom Generalsekretariat der Regierungskommission. Publishes Orders concerning placing.

UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

HAN. "Arbeitsvermittlung, Berufsberatung und Erwerbslosenfürsorge im Saargebiet." *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, II, 25 September 1928, pp. 433-436.

SPAIN

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Boletín del Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión Social. Published by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. A monthly review containing all laws and decrees concerning placing.

Boletín Informativo de la oficina central de colocación obrera y defensa contra el paro. Published by the Central Office for Placing and for Combating Unemployment. Appears every two months and contains laws and regulations concerning the organisation of placing. It also describes the development of the public employment service and the state of the labour market.

SWEDEN

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Svensk Författningssamling. A collection of laws appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Sociala Meddelanden. Published monthly by the Ministry of Social Welfare, and showing for each month, divided by sex, industries and districts, the number of applications, vacancies notified and vacancies filled and the number of applications per 100 vacancies.

SWITZERLAND

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Recueil des lois fédérales—Eidgenössische Gesetzsammlung. Contains the text of laws and orders promulgated by the Federal authorities on the subject of placing.

Feuille fédérale—Bundesblatt. Contains the preambles explaining the purpose of the various measures taken by the Federal authorities.

La législation sociale en Suisse—Die Schweizerische Gesetzgebung auf dem Gebiet des Arbeitsrechts und der Sozialversicherung (Supplement to *La Vie Economique—Die Volkswirtschaft*, the monthly publication of the Federal Department for Public Economy). Contains the chief laws and orders passed by the different cantons.

La Suisse économique et sociale—Volkswirtschaft, Arbeitsrecht und Sozialversicherung der Schweiz. Two volumes: I. Historical and Analytical Survey, 854 pp. II. Text of the Laws and Orders, 1,103 pp. 1927. This work was prepared by the Federal Department for Public Economy in 1924; a number of chapters are devoted to the organisation of employment exchanges.

Readers may also consult the collections of laws of the cantons.

Statistics

La Vie Economique—Die Volkswirtschaft. Published monthly by the Federal Department for Public Economy. It contains statistics of the number of applications and vacancies registered with the public employment exchanges and the number of vacancies filled. The figures are classified by occupation, by sex and by canton.

Les résultats de la statistique sociale de la Suisse—Ergebnisse der Schweizerischen Sozialstatistik. A Yearbook published by the Federal Office for Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour since 1931. It gives an annual summary of the statistics mentioned above.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

BARTHOLDI, Dr. *Gegenwartsfragen der Schweizerischen Arbeitsmarktpolitik.* Buchdruckerei Flawil, 1932.

MANGOLD, Dr. F. *Les tendances et le développement du service public de placement.* (In *Verband Schweizerischer Arbeitsämter*, Protocole de la Xème assemblée générale, p. 56, Geneva, 1927.)

RABINOVITCH, G. S. *L'organisation du placement public en Suisse.* Rome. Cassa Nazionale per le Assicurazioni sociali, 1929.

RABINOVITCH, G. S., and SPATES, T. *Unemployment Insurance in Switzerland.* Published by Industrial Relations Counselors, New York. 1931. 276 pp. Chapter III deals with the organisation of the public employment service.

SOUTH AFRICA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Legislation

Annual volumes of Acts of Parliament.

Statistics and General

UNION OFFICE OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS. *Official Yearbook of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland.* Pretoria, Government Printing and Stationery Office. Annual. Contains an account of the organisation of Employment Exchanges and Juvenile Labour Bureaux, and statistics of their operations.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR. *The Social and Industrial Review.* Pretoria. Monthly publication, discontinued in 1930.

— *The Labour Gazette*, Pretoria. Quarterly, 1930-1931 only.

MILLER, R. H., Divisional Inspector of Labour, Johannesburg. "South African Employment Exchanges." *The Social and Industrial Review*, 5 November 1928, pp. 922-923.

SCHOLTZ, E. J. "Rehabilitation Schemes of the Department of Labour." *The Social and Industrial Review*, January 1929, pp. 27-33.

UNITED STATES

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Legislation

Volumes of Statutes of the Federal Congress and of the thirty-odd States which have adopted legislation concerning public employment exchanges.

Statistics and General

Federal Employment Service

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE. *Annual Report of the Director-General, U.S. Employment Service, to the Secretary of Labour*; and *Monthly Report of Activities of State and Municipal Employment Services Co-operating with the United States Employment Service.*

— *Summary of Activities of the Farm Labour Division, 1930.* Washington, 1931.

— CHILDREN'S BUREAU, and U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE. *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement.* Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1925. XII+440 pp.

CHANNING, ALICE. *Employment of Mentally Deficient Boys and Girls.* U.S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 210. 107 pp. Washington, 1932.

The *Monthly Labour Review*, published by the U.S. Department of Labour, contains articles from time to time on the working of the Federal Employment Service.

State Employment Services

Monthly bulletins and annual reports of State labour departments or industrial commissions.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

General

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES. *Proceedings of the Annual Meetings*. Published as Bulletins of the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics. Washington. Contains articles on working of employment exchanges in Canada and the United States.

HARRISON, S. M., and others. *Public Employment Offices, their Purposes, Structure and Methods*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1926. 10+702 pp. A general study of the theory and practice of employment exchanges.

KELLOGG, RUTH M. *The United States Employment Service*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1933. xiv+192 pp. Contains a history of the Federal Service and a detailed study of the results of the 1931 reorganisation.

SMITH, D. H. *The United States Employment Service : Its History, Activities and Organisation*. Institute for Government Research, Service Monograph No. 28. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1923. xii+130 pp.

The American Labour Legislation Review. Published quarterly by the American Association for Labour Legislation. New York. Contains articles from time to time on the working of employment exchanges in the United States.

Special Subjects

DE SCHWEINITZ, DOROTHEA. *How Workers Find Jobs*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932. xvi+199 pages. Chapter IV gives a detailed account of employment exchanges available to hosiery workers in Philadelphia.

LA DAME, MARY. *Securing Employment for the Handicapped*. A Study of Placement Agencies for this Group in New York City. New York, Welfare Council of New York City, 1927. 133 pp.

STEWART, ANNABEL M. and BRYCE M. *Statistical Procedure of Employment Offices, an Analysis of Practice in Various Countries and a Plan for Standard Procedure in the United States made for the Committee on Governmental Labour Statistics of the American Statistical Association*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1933. 327 pp. Chapter XV describes the organisation and statistical methods of public employment services in the United States.

The Rehabilitation Review (monthly). Published by the American Rehabilitation Committee, Inc., New York. Contains articles from time to time on methods of placing disabled workers.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Voprossy Truda (Labour questions). Published monthly by the Commissariat for Labour. It contains articles on placing, mentions the most important orders and gives a bibliography.

Izvestia N.K.T. (Bulletin of the Labour Commissariat). Published by the Labour Commissariat two or three times a month. It contains all the orders, instructions and circulars concerning placing issued by the Labour Commissariat.

Statistics

Voprossy Truda (Labour questions). Until 1930 detailed statistics were published concerning unemployment and placing.

Statistika Truda (Labour statistics). Published monthly by the Commissariat for Labour. Until it ceased to be published in 1930 it contained statistics on unemployment and placing.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

FOMINYKH, I., and others. *Pamiatka verbouščika* (Handbook for recruiting agents). Archangel, 1932. 39 pp. Gives a survey of the present methods of engagement and recruiting in the U.S.S.R.

GUINDIN, Y. *Regulirovanie rynka truda i borba s bezroboticej* (The regulation of the labour market and the campaign against unemployment). Moscow, 1926, 132 pp. An outline of the methods used for placing and for combating unemployment before the application of economic planning to the labour market in 1930.

ROMANOV, M. *Ot Passivnogo posredničestva k aktivnoi organizacii rabocej sily* (From the passive system of placing to the active organisation of labour). Moscow, 1930. 35 pp. A survey of the new policy of organised placing.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. *International Labour Review* :

Vol. XIV, No. 5, November 1926 : " Unemployment in Russia, 1917-1925."

Vol. XXII, No. 1, July 1930 : " The Provision of Work for the Unemployed in the U.S.S.R."

Vol. XXVII, No. 3, March 1933 : " The Five-Year Plan and the Regulation of the Labour Market in the U.S.S.R."

YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Organisation

Zbirka zakona i uredbara. A collection of laws and orders appearing at irregular intervals and containing legislative texts concerning placing.

Statistics

Radnička zaštita. Published monthly by the Central Social Insurance Office, and showing for each month for the various labour exchanges and by industries the number of unemployed remaining on the register from the preceding month, the number registered during the month, the number of vacancies unfilled the preceding month, the number registered during the month, the number of vacancies filled, the number of unemployed struck off the register, and the number still on the register at the end of the month. In each case a distinction is made between salaried employees, skilled workers, unskilled permanent workers and unskilled casual workers. Salaried employees and skilled workers on the one hand, and unskilled workers on the other, who have been newly registered during the month, are also classified into various wage groups according to their daily rates of wages.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Ujedinjeni Sindikati, published monthly by the Federation of Trade Unions and occasionally containing articles dealing with the problems of placing.

POPOVIČ, ZARIJA V. *Novčano poslovanje javnih berzi rada*. Belgrade, Centralni odbor za posredovanje rada, 1929. 99 pp. The financial position of the public employment exchanges.

APPENDIX

DRAFT CONVENTION CONCERNING FEE-CHARGING EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Seventeenth Session on 8 June 1933, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to fee-charging employment agencies, which is the first item on the Agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Draft International Convention,

adopts, this twenty-ninth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three, the following Draft Convention for ratification by the Members of the International Labour Organisation, in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and of the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace :

Article 1

1. For the purpose of this Convention the expression " fee-charging employment agency " means :

- (a) employment agencies conducted with a view to profit, that is to say, any person, company, institution, agency or other organisation which acts as an intermediary for the purpose of procuring employment for a worker or supplying a worker for an employer with a view to deriving either directly or indirectly any pecuniary or other material advantage from either employer or worker ; the expression does not include newspapers or other publications unless they are published wholly or mainly for the purpose of acting as intermediaries between employers and workers ;
- (b) employment agencies not conducted with a view to profit, that is to say, the placing services of any company, institution, agency or other organisation which, though not conducted with a view to deriving any pecuniary or other material advantage, levies from either employer or worker for the above services an entrance fee, a periodical contribution or any other charge.

2. This Convention does not apply to the placing of seamen.

Article 2

1. Fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit as defined in paragraph 1 (a) of the preceding Article shall be abolished within three years from the coming into force of this Convention for the Member concerned.

2. During the period preceding abolition

- (a) there shall not be established any new fee-charging employment agency conducted with a view to profit ;
- (b) fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit shall be subject to the supervision of the competent authority and shall only charge fees and expenses on a scale approved by the said authority.

Article 3

1. Exceptions to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 2 of this Convention may be allowed by the competent authority in exceptional cases, but only after consultation of the organisations of employers and workers concerned.

2. Exceptions may only be allowed in virtue of this Article for agencies catering for categories of workers exactly defined by national laws or regulations and belonging to occupations placing for which is carried on under special conditions justifying such an exception.

3. The establishment of new fee-charging employment agencies shall not be allowed in virtue of this Article after the expiration of the period of three years referred to in Article 2.

4. Every fee-charging employment agency for which an exception is allowed under this Article

- (a) shall be subject to the supervision of the competent authority ;
- (b) shall be required to be in possession of a yearly licence renewable at the discretion of the competent authority during a period which shall not exceed ten years ;
- (c) shall only charge fees and expenses on a scale approved by the competent authority ; and
- (d) shall only place or recruit workers abroad if authorised so to do by its licence and if its operations are conducted under an agreement between the countries concerned.

Article 4

Fee-charging employment agencies not conducted with a view to profit as defined in paragraph 1 (b) of Article 1

- (a) shall be required to have an authorisation from the competent authority and shall be subject to the supervision of the said authority ;
- (b) shall not make any charge in excess of the scale of charges fixed by the competent authority with strict regard to the expenses incurred ; and
- (c) shall only place or recruit workers abroad if permitted so to do by the competent authority and if their operations are conducted under an agreement between the countries concerned.

Article 5

Fee-charging employment agencies as defined in Article 1 of this Convention and every person, company, institution, agency or other private organisation habitually engaging in placing shall, even though making no charge, make a declaration to the competent authority stating whether their placing services are given gratuitously or for remuneration.

Article 6

National laws or regulations shall prescribe appropriate penalties, including the withdrawal when necessary of the licences and authorisations provided for by this Convention, for any violation of the above Articles or of any laws or regulations giving effect to them.

Article 7

There shall be included in the annual reports to be submitted under Article 408 of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding Articles of the other Treaties of Peace all necessary information concerning the exceptions allowed under Article 3.

Article 8

The formal ratifications of this Convention under the conditions set forth in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and in the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for registration.

Article 9

This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members whose ratifications have been registered with the Secretariat.

It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretary-General.

Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 10

As soon as the ratifications of two Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretariat, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall so notify all the Members of the International Labour Organisation. He shall likewise notify them of the registration of ratifications which may be communicated subsequently by other Members of the Organisation.

Article 11

A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered with the Secretariat.

Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 12

At the expiration of each period of ten years after the coming into force of this Convention, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall consider the desirability of placing on the Agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 13

Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides,

- (a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall *ipso jure* involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 11 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force ;
- (b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force, this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it, but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 14

The French and English texts of this Convention shall both be authentic.

RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Seventeenth Session on 8 June 1933, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies, which is the first item on the Agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals should take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this twenty-ninth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three, the following Recommendation, to be submitted to the Members of the International Labour Organisation for consideration with a view to effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and of the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace :

The Conference,

Having adopted a Draft Convention concerning fee-charging employment agencies intended to supplement the provisions of the Convention and Recommendation concerning unemployment which it adopted at its First Session ;

Considering it to be desirable to ensure within as short a time as possible the complete abolition of fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit ;

Considering that, for certain occupations, the abolition of such agencies may nevertheless involve certain difficulties in countries in which the free public employment offices are not in a position completely to take the place of the agencies abolished ;

Considering that features other than placing fees may give a profit-making character to placing operations and may lead to abuses ;

Recommends the Members to take the following rules and methods into consideration :

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1. Measures should be taken to adapt the free public employment offices to the needs of the occupations in which recourse is often had to the services of fee-charging employment agencies.
2. The principle of having specialised public employment offices for particular occupations should be applied and in so far as possible persons familiar with the characteristics, usages and customs of the occupations concerned should be attached to such offices.
3. Representatives of the organisations most representative of workers and employers in the occupations concerned should be invited to collaborate in the working of the public employment offices.

II

1. Persons and undertakings which either directly or through any intermediary derive any profit from certain activities such as the keeping of public houses, hotels, secondhand clothes shops, pawn shops or money-changing should be forbidden to engage in placing.
2. Placing operations should be prohibited on all premises or in all out-houses and annexes of such premises where any of the above-mentioned trades are carried on.

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